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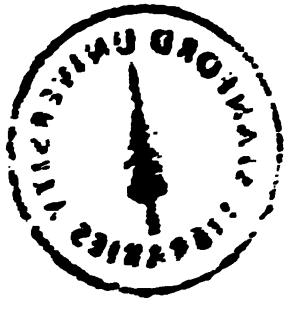
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Memoirs of
CAROLINE
Queen Consort
OF
ENGLAND,
from
the earliest period of her Eventful Life,

BY
ROBERT HUISH ESQ.r

LONDON.

Printed for Thos. Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, July 8, 1820.

MEMOIRS

OF HER LATE MAJESTY

CAROLINE,

Queen of Great Britain:

EMBRACING

EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE SCENES OF HER EVENTFUL LIFE,

FROM

INFANCY TO THE PERIOD OF HER DECEASE,

INTERSPERSED WITH

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS,

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

LIKEWISE A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF HER MAJESTY'S ILLNESS, LAST SAYINGS, LAMENTED DEATH, FUNERAL PROCESSION, *&c. &c.*

BY ROBERT HUISH, ESQ.,

Author of Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte, History and Reign of George the Third, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES,

VOL. I.

EMBELLISHED WITH ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS.

London:

PRINTED FOR T. KELLY, 17, PATERNOSTER-ROW,

And sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom

1821.

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MEMOIRS,

&c.

After a thirty years' war, in which bigotry, fanatacism, and superstition deluged one of the fairest portions of Europe with blood, Germany presented the extraordinary spectacle of a number of reigning families, differing from each other in their religious tenets, in their mode of government, and in the extent of their territories. Amongst those families, that of Brunswick shone conspicuous. It had rendered itself memorable in the war, not only by the bravery of its princes, but also by having been one of the first to espouse the protestant cause, and to humble the domineering and tyrant rule of the church of Rome. The family of Brunswick is divided into two branches, that of Lunenburg and Wolfenbuttel, and it is from the latter that the royal subject of these Memoirs takes her origin. This branch, as early as the reign of King James, became connected with the royal family of England; in regard,

however to the early genealogy of this illustrious family, it has been so amply detailed in a cotemporary work*, that a repetition of it in this Memoir, would be very inappropriate, besides occupying a considerable number of pages designed for more important and weighty information. We shall, therefore, merely confine ourselves to a genealogical statement of the immediate predecessors of her present majesty, and of that branch of the family which has been ennobled by the accession of one of its members to a participation in the crown of England.

Both the branches, and consequently all the princes of this illustrious family, are descended from Ernest, Duke of Lunenburg, who died in 1546. Ernest was the first of his family who embraced the Protestant religion. At his death he had four sons living: Francis, who died without issue—Frederick who was killed in battle—Henry who founded the house of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel—and William, the younger son, who founded the line of Lunenburg, from whom came the present royal family of Great Britain.

It would be superfluous to trace the family through the descending generations, as the events of those periods have no relevancy to the subject of these memoirs. It is true indeed that the princes of the house of Brunswick, have signalized themselves by their bravery, in all the continental

* Huish's History of the Public and Private Life of his late Majesty.

wars; but history has treasured up their deeds, and a grateful country has embalmed their memory. These exploits, however, have no relation to the history of the present Queen of England, although she may look back upon them with exultation, and in the remembrance of the noble deeds of her ancestors, she may gather fortitude to support her through the unexampled trials to which she is exposed.

It was in the very year (1735) that the father of her present majesty, Charles Duke of Brunswick, was born, that the family of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel was nearly rendered extinct, by as horrible a plot as ever was conceived by man. Two dukes of that family died in 1735, within six months of each other, and the little interval between the decease of these two princes, gave rise to some suspicion that their death was not a natural one. At first, however, this suspicion was regarded as without foundation, but after a diligent inquiry, a most execrable plot was discovered, which was to destroy, by poison, the whole of the reigning house of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel. It was clearly ascertained that the two last dukes fell a sacrifice to this hellish project, and their successor would have shared the same fate, if Divine Providence had not interposed, and preserved his life by a seasonable discovery of the whole plot. The persons concerned were thirty-six in number, at the head of whom was Baron Wolff, who had been for many years at the court of Brunswick. The

baron was apprehended and conveyed to the castle of Hartz, where, finding that his crimes were de tected, he made a full confession of the whole plot.

The discovery of this diabolical conspiracy rendered it an imperative necessity, in order to save the remaining branches from the machinations of the confederates, that they should be removed to a place of safety, and so well was the secret kept that for many years it was not known where the future father of our present queen was concealed, although an assurance from authority was given, at stated periods, that he was in existence and in health. At the time when the plot was discovered, Charles William Frederick, hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, the future husband of the sister of our late revered monarch, was quite an infant. It was, however, fortunate for him, that men could be found at that time in the court of Brunswick, who could assume the reins of government, and who were not to be daunted by the perilous aspect of the times, from performing their duty to their country and their prince. The vessel of the state was steered manfully through the storm, and during the scene of the seven years' war, we find the hereditary prince fighting under the banners of the Prussian monarch, and adding another leaf of laurel to the branch which encircled the brows of his illustrious ancestors.

It was in one of the journeys of George II. to his Hanoverian possessions, and at the period

when he joined the allied army, that the hereditary Prince of Brunswick attracted his notice; and the aged monarch, who was always bent upon increasing his continental connexions, immediately conceived the idea of a matrimonial alliance of the hereditary prince with his grand-daughter, the Princess Augusta. Soon after the close of the seven years' war, this alliance was actually carried into effect, and the illustrious individuals were married at St. James's on the 16th of January, 1764.

The issue of this marriage was first, Charlotte Georgiana Augusta, born December the 3d, 1764, and married October the 11th, 1780, to Frederick William, Prince of Wirtemburg, afterwards elevated to a dukedom, to whom she bore two sons and a daughter. At her death, the duke espoused the princess royal of Great Britain.

Second—Charles George Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, born February the 8th, 1776, married October the 14th, 1790, to the Princess Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina, daughter of William V., Stadtholder of Holland.

Third—Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, now Queen Consort of his majesty George IV., born the 17th of May, 1768.

Fourth—George William Christian, born June the 27th, 1769.

Fifth—William Frederick, born October the 9th, 1771; and,

Sixth—Leopold, who lost his life in a noble at-

tempt to save the lives of several persons, when the river Oder burst its banks in 1785.

The early years of our infancy present but few materials for the observer of human nature, with which to form his estimate of the character of the individual. In this respect the early life of the princess and the peasant bear a strong resemblance; both may be compared to the unfolded bud on the parent branch, on which the blossom is in embryo, and it may either bloom to maturity, yielding a precious fruit, or some malignant influence may blast it in its opening, and leave it for the remainder of its existence a sickly and shivering plant. There is, however, a period in human life, when the fertility or barrenness of the character begins to display itself, when the malevolent or virtuous dispositions exhibit themselves to the experienced observer, and the bent and inclination of the mind are declared by the simple pursuits and sports to which the individual seems inclined. It must, however, be considered, that man is an imitative animal, and that his character frequently takes a decided bias from the dispositions and pursuits of those with whom he is obliged to associate.

At the birth of Caroline, and for several years afterwards, the court of her father presented one of the gayest scenes in Germany. The transition from gaiety to licentiousness is however so very easy, and especially when circumstances so combine, as they generally do in a court, to give

the most favourable complexion to a departure from the established rules of decorum and propriety, that they must be little versed indeed in the general routine of human actions who would look into a court, and especially a foreign one, for a strict obeisance to moral law. Brave in themselves, the princes of the House of Brunswick collected round them hearts of a congenial spirit; the warriors who had fought under the Brunswick banner assembled at the court of him who had often led them on to victory; and where the warrior rests, there rests also "Heaven's masterpiece;" he forgets the toils of war in the glance of the lustful eye, and the remembrance of its dangers vanish when the midnight kiss is stolen. It must, however, be properly considered that the licentiousness which distinguished the court of Brunswick was not confined to it alone. A general laxity of morals pervaded the whole country, and if the fountain head was impure, it was not to be expected that the minor channels were to be uncontaminated.

But the court of Brunswick was not only the resort of the "war-worn soldier," but it was the refuge of the exile, and the unfortunate. Benevolence and generosity became the dupe of the systematic profligate, and several individuals trespassed on the bounty of the Brunswick family, who, had their characters been sifted, ought to have been accommodated with a cell in a prison. These were persons by no means fit for

the society of the youthful Caroline, who at an early period of her life testified a buoyancy of spirit, and a high and generous nature, which was easy to be worked upon by the fascination which surrounded her, and which insensibly drew her into the vortex of pleasure, which then distinguished her father's court.

At a very early period of her life, the Princess Caroline displayed those traits of character, which have grown to maturity, and which have enabled her to support with fortitude the severe ordeal through which she has passed. A masculine strength of mind was one of the predominant features which displayed itself: nothing appeared to daunt her, and even the verbal chastisement of her tutors seemed to give a wound to her pride, which a noble mind always feels at humiliation or degradation.

An instance of the high sentiments which pervaded her mind, is exemplified in the answer which she once made to her tutor, who was then teaching her the rudiments of natural history. She was repeating the answers to the questions contained in *Leske's Anfangs Gründe der Naturgeschichte*, (Leske's Elements of Natural History), when her tutor put the question to her, *Wo findet man der Löwe?* (in what country is the lion found?) She immediately answered, *In dem Herz einer Braunschweiger*, (in the heart of a Brunswicker.) Another instance occurred a short time afterwards, when she was advised not to

mount one of the horses in the favourite game of the Carousel, as the circular motion might make her giddy. She, however, replied to the remonstrances of her attendants. *Ein Braunschweiger darf alles. Furcht ist ein Wort den ein Braunschweiger kennt nicht.* (A Brunswicker dare do any thing. Fear is a word, of which a Brunswicker is ignorant.)

The education of the Princess Caroline, was principally carried on under the immediate care of her mother, who although she possessed some amiable qualities, was not exactly fitted for the task of education. It must, however, be considered, that the plans of education which are peculiar to this country, by no means harmonize with the method of instruction adopted by the German preceptors. The Duchess of Brunswick had therefore no little difficulty to overcome; she could not be induced to adopt the mathematical and elaborate system of education adopted by the Germans, and on the other hand, the Germans could not be brought to fall into those plans to which the duchess had been accustomed in England, and thus a clashing of systems took place, by no means favourable to the mental improvement of the pupil.

But there are some minds which will overcome every obstacle opposed to them, like the rapid flow of the river which has burst its bounds. The march of human intellect is not to be obstructed by the puny efforts of the pedagogue,

and it frequently happens that the very impediments which are thrown in the way of it, operate in a contrary manner by giving it an impetus which it otherwise would not have obtained. The mind of the Princess Caroline in the full elasticity of its spirit, bounded over the systematic rules of pedagogic learning, and assisted by the converse of several celebrated literary characters, who sometimes visited the court of Brunswick, it by degrees assumed a firm and decided tone, from which it was not to be warped by the opinions of others, except in those cases in which the most positive conviction was brought home to her by ocular demonstration, or direct logical deduction. It was one of her early sentiments, that a person who never forms an opinion of his own, but suffers himself to be guided by that of others, is like a piece of barren ground which will not bear a single blade of grass. It was one of the earliest studies of her life, to form on all subjects an opinion of her own, and in many cases that opinion, as might be naturally expected, was founded in error; but her mind was of too comprehensive a grasp to allow of error existing for a moment in it, when refuted by experience or positive demonstration.

As the mind of the Princess Caroline developed itself, particular care was bestowed on the cultivation of those qualities, which distinguished themselves, and which appeared to form, as it were, the basis of her character. In

those hours, however, which were not particularly devoted to the purposes of education, she was thrown into the society of persons, whose temper, whose dispositions, and whose pursuits were by no means congenial to her.

The naïveté and gaiety of youth ill accord with the precise and studied demeanor of age, and in the minds of those, who are in the least conversant with the stiffness, the ceremony, and the hauteur, which at that time distinguished the majority of the German courts, and from which that of Brunswick was by no means exempt, no wonder need be excited at the eagerness with which the Princess Caroline seized every opportunity of emancipating herself from that restraint, which the formality of the court imposed upon her. During the early years of her life, she sought for that emancipation in various kinds of amusements, and some of which were represented to be rather of a masculine nature. She took a delight in visiting the work-shop of the mechanic, and there was scarcely an art, with the practical part of which she was not in some degree acquainted. This condescension of manners, and the readiness with which she stepped forward on all occasions to assist the unfortunate, endeared her to those around her, and obtained for her the love and respect of all classes of the people.

To music, her serene highness evinced a very early attachment, and by the aid and instructions

of some of the most celebrated masters of her country, she soon became a proficient in that charming science. Her prepossessions, however, rather led her to the lively fantastic airs of the Italian, than to the high and stately march of the German, the merit of whose compositions at that time lay in abstruse combinations, very difficult to be understood or enjoyed by those, who were not like themselves, proficients in all the intricacies of the art. Private concerts were at one time the fashion of Germany, and there was scarcely a family of any distinction or repute, which had not its stated evenings, on which the heads of it, were "at home" to receive the most celebrated musical amateurs in the vicinity of their abode. These concerts were particularly patronised by the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick, and the Princess Caroline was often called upon on these occasions to preside at the harpsichord, for the piano-forte was then scarcely known, or, at all events, not in general use. The country that has produced a Bach, a Graun, a Handel, a Gluck, a Miller, a Haydn, a Mozart, and a Hoffmeister, must be rich indeed in the means of imparting musical delight to the youthful amateur, and the study of their incomparable works, could not fail to impart a high degree of musical skill to those, who have genius and perseverance to encounter their difficulties.

The mind of the Princess Caroline was formed in too strong a mould to be diverted from a given

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Caroline emancipated from the
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rived at that age, when the female form assumes that attractive appearance which draws around her a crowd of flattering coxcombs, or venal parasites; who, in the plenitude of their adulation compare her eyes to the stars of Heaven, the colour of her cheeks to the hue of the maiden rose, the odour of her breath to the spicy gales of Arabia, and the whiteness of her bosom to the snow new fallen on the mountain's top. To assert that the court of Brunswick, or any other court on earth were without those parasites, were to belie the very nature of them; and to assert that their influence was wholly lost upon the Princess Caroline, were to belie her nature also. It requires a mind of no common tone and texture to withstand the insinuating advances of the flatterer; and that female, just bursting into life, who can wholly close every avenue to her heart against the palatable incense which is offered to it, is, and will for ever remain, one of nature's phenomena.

The Princess Caroline had, however, scarcely attained her fifteenth year, when a severe illness obliged her to retire for a time from the enjoy-

not lose any thing in comparison with the former, yet at the same time every allowance ought to be made, if in the general behaviour of an individual born and bred in a particular court, some trifling deviations from those rules of decorum are visible, which are acknowledged and practised in another court, in which the most minute attention is paid to the propriety of female conduct, and in which an open departure from it, would subject the offender to a formal dismissal from it. The familiarity allowed in a German court, would ill suit with an English one, and, therefore, it is difficult to erect a standard by which individuals frequenting either of them ought to be measured, in reference to each other. That which is sanctioned and admitted in the one, would be deemed improper and indecorous in another, but it does not therefore follow, that the virtue of the one, is of a more suspicious nature, or more likely to be undermined than the other. The prude is more to be despised than the coquette: the former actually belies her nature, the latter only exceeds it; but a prude in a German court, is a being strangely out of its element, and it is a character which could never attach to the Princess Caroline; but where is the giant power, which will attempt at a particular period of the human life to enchain the affections of the heart, and to dictate the object on which they shall be fixed?? It is not birth—it is not rank—nor titles, to which the heart, feeling the great impulse of its being,

directs its attention; and the princess, in the moment of a pleasing delusion, may prefer to share the cottage of the peasant with the man she loves, rather than the palace of the monarch with the man she hates.

The Princess Caroline emancipated from the duties attendant upon learning, entered upon a new and most important era of her life. She had arrived at that age, when the female form assumes that attractive appearance which draws around her a crowd of flattering coxcombs, or venal parasites; who, in the plenitude of their adulation compare her eyes to the stars of Heaven, the colour of her cheeks to the hue of the maiden rose, the odour of her breath to the spicy gales of Arabia, and the whiteness of her bosom to the snow new fallen on the mountain's top. To assert that the court of Brunswick, or any other court on earth were without those parasites, were to belie the very nature of them; and to assert that their influence was wholly lost upon the Princess Caroline, were to belie her nature also. It requires a mind of no common tone and texture to withstand the insinuating advances of the flatterer; and that female, just bursting into life, who can wholly close every avenue to her heart against the palatable incense which is offered to it, is, and will for ever remain, one of nature's phenomena.

The Princess Caroline had, however, scarcely attained her fifteenth year, when a severe illness obliged her to retire for a time from the enjoy-

ment and pleasures of her father's court; and it was during this illness that the penetration of her mother discovered, or at least her suspicions were excited, that not only the corporeal frame of her daughter was suffering under a lingering malady, but also that a wound had been inflicted upon her heart, the cure of which might be even more problematical than that which then excited the attention of her physicians. These suspicions were not immediately declared, but those arrangements were privately made, by which a confirmation or a falsification of them could be obtained.

The Princess Caroline testified, at a very early period of her life, a particular attachment to children, and in her rides and walks, she never saw a rustic, chubby boy, but she immediately stopped and questioned it of its parents, its abode, and its station in life. She thus obtained a number of little pensioners upon her bounty, and not unfrequently some very numerous families, whose parents were unable to provide for their support. That such a character, born and educated amidst the splendour of a court, in which individual want is never known, should meet with applause and also with envy, is a natural effect of the constitution of society; and it is also not less a natural result, that motives should be attached to those actions, bearing on eccentricity, which can only find their origin in depraved and degenerate dispositions. It was certainly a very uncommon circumstance, for a high-born princess, with the

blood of the Guelphs and the Brunswicks flowing in her veins, to take delight in chatting with dirty peasant children, and often to visit the hovels in which those children resided; it was so very different from the line of conduct generally adopted by the adherents of the court, that it could not fail of being represented as derogatory to the dignity of a princess, and wholly subversive of that line of distinction, which ought to subsist between the prince and the subject, especially of the most abject classes. But in every court, there are cells from which the slanderer emanates with his leprous breath to blast the purity of the female character; and as it was not until the illness of the Princess Caroline, that the extent of her bounty to the poor was known, so the motive was never till then examined which could possibly induce her serene highness to make the sufferings of the indigent so much her peculiar care, when no compulsion whatever existed for it, and which as the action itself was of an eccentric nature, so the motive must be eccentric also. This was certainly a very logical deduction, but in regard to the Princess Caroline, it was one *sui generis*, for she had no other motive than an amiable and humane desire to alleviate the distresses of the poor, and to render herself, what a princess ought to be, the benefactress of her people. Seldom however, does it fall to the lot of an individual, and especially one of an exalted station, to have the real motives of their actions measured by the

standard of truth; and in the present case, the Princess Caroline did not form an exception. Calumny followed her to the cottage of the peasant, and in her visits, nothing was discerned but a degradation of her rank, and a secret desire to escape from the prying eye of her family and the court, to enjoy the society of one, to whom it was currently reported, her affections were engaged.

These slanderous reports reached at length the ears of her mother, who saw in them a confirmation of her former suspicions; the pride of the mother was wounded, and the spirit of the daughter ill could brook such gross and unfounded slander. At first she treated it with the contempt which it deserved; she saw in it nothing more than the mere babble of the antiquated maids, and the sexagenarian bachelors of the court, but it ended at last in that sort of family disagreement, which threatened to destroy the unanimity which had hitherto existed in it.

The health of her serene highness not being wholly confirmed, a temporary retirement from the bustle and turmoil of the court was strongly recommended by her physicians, upon the same grounds of necessity, as the ladies of England sometimes bribe their physicians to persuade their husbands that they cannot possibly survive the summer unless they are permitted to bathe in the sea, or to drink the waters of Bath or Harrogate. The Princess Caroline saw not immediately

through the drift of this recommendation of her physicians, and as it was strongly seconded by her parents, no objection was raised on her part and a temporary seclusion was the consequence.

Her retirement was, however, by no means prejudicial to her serene highness; it called into action the various resources of her mind, of the extent of some of which she had been hitherto ignorant, and in the exercise of which she found ample remuneration for the gaiety of the court which she had left. But pleasure is as natural and necessary to the youthful heart, as food is to the body—a sigh now and then rose at the dullness of her situation, and she looked forward to the time, with anticipated delight, when she should again be allowed to join in the amusements to which she had hitherto been accustomed. That period did arrive, and she was received at her father's court with every demonstration of joy. She, however, looked around her, and found a blank—one was wanting, whom she expected would greet her the most cordially on her return, but, on inquiry, it was ascertained that he had joined the army which was then collecting in the vicinity of Tirlemont, in consequence of the menacing attitude of France, on the breaking out of the Revolution. A young heart feels a disappointment most acutely, and although every endeavour was used by her to smother the regret which she experienced, yet, there are moments when the inquisitive eye of the mother will discover what the daughter tries

in vain to conceal; and in this case the former congratulated herself in secret on the success of the plan which she had adopted, and by which she hoped for ever to check the attachment which it was too evident had taken root in the heart of her daughter.

The dispositions of the Princess Caroline had now assumed something of a decided character, and in some respects they called for the judicious restraint of the parent. She appeared to live only for the world, its pleasures, and its enjoyments. Her feelings, her thoughts, and all the dreams of her imagination appeared to live only in the present moment, and the world in which she moved, to be made for her happiness. Being once reproached by a phlegmatic courtier for the gaiety which she displayed, and which was accompanied with the advice, that she should bend her attention to her future prospects, she exclaimed with all the naïveté of her disposition, "*Hin ist hin—was vorbey ist, kehrt nicht wieder, was kommen soll, wird sich schon einstellen.*" (Gone is gone—that which is gone, will never return, and that which is to come, will come of itself.) The future was never in her mind a distinct nor lively idea, she therefore sacrificed to it whatever the present offered to her; she never rejected the enjoyment of the present for that which the future might grant her, and the evil, which assailed her for the moment, required to be of no ordinary magnitude, to induce her to adopt any measures

for its prevention or its remedy. The knowledge of the serious consequences of an action seldom deterred her from it, if it were favoured by the impressions of the present moment; the powerful feelings of the heart were the only ones which she obeyed, and rejecting all the experience of age, she often fell into those youthful indiscretions, which are more the effect of thoughtlessness, than of natural degeneracy.

There is, however, an epoch in the human life, when parental authority appears a usurpation; and that epoch is, when the most powerful passion of the human heart begins to display itself. The female, whether born to a cottage or a throne, acknowledges no control over her affections, and Caroline of Brunswick was not one of those characters from whom an unqualified obeisance to parental authority could be expected, especially on a subject in which she positively denied its interference. Opposition with her only tended to strengthen her in her resolutions, and, although the Duchess of Brunswick might deplore the circumstance of the affections of her daughter having been placed upon an object far beneath her in rank, yet, she certainly did not adopt that judicious mode of conduct, by which the growth of those affections could be checked. It was to be effected by downright parental authority, the command of a mother was to stifle a voice taught by nature itself—and it failed. The resentment of the parent followed, and every mean was

adopted to prevent the possibility of an acquaintance being renewed or continued, which might end in the degradation of the family; but

> Heaven first taught letters for some wretch's aid,
> Some banish'd lover, or some captive maid.

A correspondence was discovered by one of the arguses of the court—a plan was formed for intercepting it, which fully succeeded, and when the princess thought that all her plans were ripe, and the moment was at hand when they were to be put in execution, a journey was projected to a distant part of the duchy, which actually took place, and a temporary cessation of all epistolary correspondence was effected.

Delicacy forbids us to expatiate any further upon this particular circumstance in the life of the Princess Caroline, and indeed, we should have been disposed to have passed it over *in toto*, if had we not thereby exposed ourselves to the imputation of gross ignorance of circumstances, which were at one time the prevailing topic of the *conversaziones* of the court of Brunswick.

How admired soever may be the glory of title and birth, of riches and renown, there is still something which more nearly concerns us, which we derive from personal qualities, and from the exertions of a noble and strenuous mind. This seems to be more immediately our own, and entirely peculiar to us. Tis not limited to certain times and occasions, nor does it depend upon a thousand foreign assistances as the others. This

gives an individual a superiority far more agreeable than that which proceeds from affluence, title, or applause, as they are all external—whereas the mind is properly our own, or rather is ourself, and constitutes our very essence. The Princess Caroline was a striking proof of the justness of those remarks. The station in which she was born gave her every advantage which titles, rank, or riches, could bestow upon her, but Providence, perhaps, foreseeing her future destiny, in which every resource of the human mind would be called into action, threw her, at an early period of her life, amidst those scenes, from the difficulties of which she could only be extricated, by the energies and the resources of her own intellectual powers. She obtained thereby an original mode of acting, which, as it did not harmonise with the staid and precise line of action chalked out by universal custom and approbation, invested her with the character of an eccentric female.

The Princess Caroline was always particularly partial to travelling, and the turn and bias of her mind, displayed themselves in the objects which she selected for her examination. A striking instance of this was apparent on her passing once through Hochkirch, rendered memorable for one of the most bloody battles fought during the seven years' war. Whilst the party were at Hochkirch, a violent storm of thunder and lightning prevented the progress of the travellers.

But in the midst of it, the Princess Caroline was missed, and it was subsequently discovered, that she had set out to visit the field of battle. At any time, the view of the death-bed of thousands would have excited the most melancholy reflections, but doubly impressive must the view of it be, when the lightning is flashing around us, and the thunder can be compared to the roar of the artillery which once swept its thousands to the grave. The description of this visit, is given in the following words in *der Geschichte der Braunschweigischen Familie.*

"The thunder was still roaring at a distance—the wind rushed by me in heavy gusts—but the wind had nearly ceased, as I mounted the height on which the remains of the celebrated Prussian battery are visible where the attack of the enemy began. I stood on the fallen redoubt, and overlooked the whole extent of the Austrian and Prussian camp—a solemn silence was around me—the grass waved on the hills where the slain rested in thousands—in the front of the battery stood a mound covered with wild flowers—I formed a wreath of blue, red, and white ones*, and I kept it in memory of the dead.

"On my return, I visited the parish Church—in an obscure corner of it stands the celebrated

* The above is literally translated from the German work already alluded to, (the Halle edition, page 165, cap. v.) in which several interesting particulars of the Princess of Brunswick are mentioned.

marble monument of Field Marshal Keith, and on one of the benches a spot of blood was visible. What is this? I asked my companion. Here fell Keith, he answered—he was found on the following morning stript—robbed by the followers of the army—and he was carried to his grave on a wheelbarrow. Such are the horrors of war—in the Churchyard, I saw the skulls and bones projecting from the graves—a dismal—ghastly scene!"

We will select another characteristic anecdote of her, and which occurred at one of those small inns, which are well known to the German traveller, and in which he thinks himself happy if he can procure a bundle of clean straw, a slice of black sour bread, and a sausage. It was at one of these inns that the princess stopped with her party, not from choice, but from necessity, as an accident had happened to one of the carriages, (no uncommon circumstance at all on a German journey), and it was necessary that the repairs should be made at the first place at which a blacksmith could be obtained.

The princess and her party were shewn into a small room, the decorations of which were of a peculiar sort, and which attracted particularly the attention of the former, as it appeared more like a pantheon than a common room in a German inn. The art of the sculptor and the painter, seemed to be exhausted in their various representations of the holy Virgin, of Peter, of Bar-

tholomew, of Jacob, Dominicus, and Franciscus; and indeed of all the worthy Saints which cut an equally conspicuous figure in the Roman calendar. The princess had just taken up a small cross to examine it, when the landlady entered with the refreshment which had been ordered, and who uttered a loud scream when she saw the cross in the hands of a heretic. The princess knew not that she had offended against good manners; but the landlady continued to exclaim, "O those vile Englishmen, never can it be forgiven in Heaven." "And what have the Englishmen been doing", asked the princess, "they are a people I admire, and although they may be guilty of a few indiscretions on their travels, they must be attributed more to that love of freedom, in which they have been educated, than to a desire to offend." "A love of freedom indeed," exclaimed the landlady, "that may be all well, but by what part of their education were they privileged to cut off both the legs of that holy figure on the cross—was there ever such an act heard of?" The princess was so far versed in the knowledge of the world, as not to be ignorant that it is a fruitless task to contend with the religious prejudices of an individual, and therefore, she prudently, forbore from offering any palliation for this most heretical act of the Englishmen. "But," continued the landlady, "I did not show the fellows all my sacred curiosities, but to you they shall be exhibited." On which

she opened a box, and took from it, two Virgin Mary's, three Jesus's, and a small bit of parchment, which she declared to be a portion of the skin of St. Peter. One of the Virgin Mary's, the princess discovered to be an English doll, with a wire between its legs for the purpose of making it shut its eyes; and a smile came upon her countenance at the very strange metamorphosis which the English doll had undergone, and it is certain that the humble manufacturer little thought of the exalted honour which his handicraft work was one day destined to enjoy. "Do you consider these curiosities of any value?" asked the princess. "Value!" exclaimed the landlady, "it is unknown the sum I gave for them at a neighbouring auction, and since I have been in possession of them, I have reared more geese, ducks, and fowls, than I ever did before in my life." The princess congratulated the good landlady upon her important acquisitions, and warning her never to exhibit them to Englishmen, she took her departure, secretly rejoicing that she had been educated in a religion which is wholly divested of such ridiculous fooleries.

The Princess Caroline was always addicted to those pursuits which bordered upon the romantic: she was never accustomed to ask herself whether such or such an action were conformable to her station in life, or whether the commission of it were not derogatory from her honour; she unfortunately often considered the opinion of the

world as of no import, and, led away by the enthusiasm of her disposition, she gave ample food for the scandal of her father's court.

It must, however, be admitted, that the system of education which had been adopted with the Princess Caroline, was by no means suitable to the strength of her intellect. It partook too much of the nature of a determined system, which was not to be altered by any precocity of genius which the pupil might exhibit. Her intellectual faculties would not suffer themselves to be trammelled by the systematic forms of education, and they therefore shot forth into that luxuriance, which could not be checked by any after care, and the consequences of which displayed themselves in her maturer years. The fairest fruits of the mind often lose much of their naturally delicious taste by an injudicious management, and the Princess Caroline was an instance of the truth of the above observation. She was, in many respects, conscious of her own superiority, and that very consciousness sowed the seeds of that eccentricity which has, during her life, rendered her the object of peculiar notice. Nor was she wholly exempt from a too common propensity of exercising her satirical wit upon those who, by the mediocrity of their talents, or the trifling nature of their pursuits, rendered themselves the worthy object of it. She feared not to grapple in debate with the *savans*, who were but very thinly sprinkled in her father's court; and her mind

thereby assumed that masculine tone, and that facile mode of viewing an object in its opposite and direct relations, which distinguish the adept in the knowledge of the world, and which can only be obtained by a free and indiscriminate intercourse with all the various classes of society.

It was not long, however, before the Princess Caroline experienced the truth of the observation, that it is not by a display of intellectual superiority that a female establishes herself in the good opinion of the world, or of individuals in particular. The Brunswick family have ever been celebrated for their warlike achievements, and for their being the foremost in the front of danger, whenever an enemy threatened their country. It would be irrelevant in this place to enter into an analysis of the political constitution of Germany, as it stood at the breaking out of the French Revolution, and we shall therefore merely confine ourselves to those particular events which had an influence upon the life of the Princess Caroline. Although political intrigue is one of the characteristic traits of German women, it is by no means proved that the Princess Caroline ever acted a part in the political tragedy which was then performing upon the stage of Europe. Her father's court, however, in consequence of the approaching hostilities between Germany and the French republic, became the resort not only of the native officers, but of many foreigners, who were to fight under the Bruns-

wick banner. The deeds which the Duke of Brunswick, her father, *was* to perform, and the deeds which he did (*not*) perform, are recorded in history. His intended march to Paris in his seven-leagued boots, was bruited all over Europe; and, many there were who wished to accompany him in so wonderful an exploit, the success of which was almost reduced to a mathematical demonstration, and to express even a doubt of it was tantamount to an imputation of insanity. Amongst the individuals, who were to dine at Paris on a particular day, (there being no other impediment in the way than a few half-starved Frenchmen, who would fly at the bare mention of the Brunswick name, and a few cannon mounted on some delapidated fortresses,) a prince presented himself belonging to one of the reigning families of Germany, who, whatever courage he might possess in his heart, never rendered himself conspicuous by any thing which proceeded from his head. This valiant prince was a man of gallantry, and the Princess Caroline was at that captivating age to excite the attentions of the German warrior, strutting in her father's halls with his great jack-boots, his long queue, his clinging spurs, his harlequin habiliments, and his meerschaum pipe, with the smoke of which he was to titillate the olfactory nerves of the Parisian belles. As he was likely soon to display his prowess on the siege of forts, which were expected to fall on the first shot, he resolved

previously to try his skill on the siege of the female heart, which could not according to his own opinion hold out a single moment, after he had made the first advances, and opened a brisk fire upon her from his—meerschaum pipe. The object of his attack was the Princess Caroline, and certainly in point of rank, no great disparity existed between them—but in point of intellect it was a giant to a Lilliputian, and this difference was soon discovered by the princess, who, instead of surrendering her heart at the first advances of her suitor, took every opportunity of exposing his ignorance, and sometimes in a manner not very pleasant to the feelings of a haughty prince. This conduct was, however, by no means agreeable to her father, for the matrimonial alliances of princes are often founded more upon state policy, than upon any attachment on the part of the individuals—it is a transfer of the person, not of the heart; and there is something in it so repulsive to feminine delicacy, that a state of unblessed singleness is often preferred to a union, in which the aggrandizement of the family is the only consideration. To those, however, who are in the least conversant with the customs of the German courts, it is well known with what readiness every opportunity is eagerly embraced of strengthening their political relations by matrimonial alliances; and in this instance it certainly would have been for the benefit of the family to which the princely suitor belonged, to claim an

alliance with the Brunswick family, but the Princess Caroline was not the person destined to have that alliance confirmed. The almost mental imbecility of the prince, the ridiculous fooleries which he was in the daily habit of committing—his gross and boorish ignorance of all matters but those which appertained to his uniform, excited so strong a disgust in the mind of the Princess Caroline, that when the formal offer of her hand was demanded, she rejected it in the most peremptory manner, and notwithstanding every argument was used by her father, which the parent or the statesman could adopt, her resolution was fixed, and the disconsolate suitor retired to his paternal estates, to console himself with his—meerschaum pipe *.

The sympathies of mind, like the laws of chemical affinity, are uniform—great talents attract admiration, the offering of the understanding; but the qualities of the heart can alone excite affection, the offering of the heart; and if one may judge of the Princess Caroline by the ardour with which her friends and cotemporaries have expressed their attachment, we shall form conclusions highly favourable to her sensibility and her social virtues. It was her particular study to divest herself of that German stiffness, which is so remark-

* We have purposely concealed the name of this prince, as he was not only closely allied by birth to her late majesty, but when called into the field of battle, he forgot the heroism o his ancestors, and the only smoke he liked was that of his—pipe.

able in her fellow-countrywomen—her urbanity extended to the lowest ranks of society; and, whilst she enlivened her father's court by spectacles and amusing representations, she partook of them herself with a relish that set the example of festivity. To be absorbed however in one pursuit, however important and laudable, is not the characteristic of the higher class of genius, which piercing through the various combinations and relations of surrounding circumstances, sees all things in their just dimensions, and attributes to each its due. Of the various occupations in which the Princess Caroline at this time engaged, there was scarcely one in which she did not succeed; but she was most particularly distinguished in those which justly hold the first rank in human estimation.

Amongst the many virtues which particularly distinguished her serene highness, was that of charity—not circumscribed in its objects, but extending to all who were labouring under the pressure of want. To her individual exertions, her native place is indebted for the establishment of one of the most excellent institutions for charitable purposes which that part of Germany can boast of. But she was not only the patroness of the institution, but its almost daily visitor—she superintended the various departments of it, particularly those which were immediately appropriated to the support of youth, and extreme old age. It was a common expression of her serene high-

ness, " Age should never want a pillow on which to rest its head, nor youth a staff to support it through life." This staff, her serene highness considered to be a good and useful education, suitable to the station of life which the individual was destined to fill, and not digressing into those subjects, which, instead of enlarging and informing the human mind, tend rather to abstract and embarrass it: thus it formed a part of the plan of her serene highness, to class the children according to the different avocations which they had selected, or which had been selected for them; and, she provided the best masters in every mechanical art which the country could produce. The chief part of her income was expended in the support of those charitable institutions; and, there are many who now offer up their prayers to Heaven for the happiness of their former benefactress.

But it was not only in public but in secret that the charitable dispositions of the Princess Caroline were exercised. She knew well that that misery is felt the severest, which is felt in secret; and that in the wide diversity of human nature, there are individuals who possess that pride of disposition which will not allow them to beg, nor even to receive a favour if they knew the hand from which it flowed. The man who had known better days, but who had been reduced by misfortune, was the particular object of her highness's secret charity, nor was this charity dealt

with a sparing hand—it was transmitted to the astonished individual at regular periods, and the benefactor was not even guessed at until a few years afterwards, when the Princess Caroline left her country to become the unhappy wife of the heir apparent to the first throne of the world.

There was one particular point in the education of the Princess Caroline deserves to be mentioned, as it is indicative of a degree of religious toleration which prevailed at the court of Brunswick, and which differs in its principles so widely from the established practice of the majority of the German courts. The Princess Caroline is of all women in Europe the most free from religious prejudices, and this is in a great measure to be attributed to the particular mode of her education. The persons who were particularly intrusted with the education of the junior branches of the Brunswick family, were directed to instruct them in the morality of religion, but not to speak to them upon *speculative* points on which the different sects of Christians are divided. The reason assigned for the adoption of this system of education was, that there were in Germany and other parts of Europe princes of different religions, and, as the duchess their mother could not foresee by which of them her daughters might be demanded in marriage, it was not fit or reasonable that merely speculative opinions should stand in the way of their happiness and advancement. The duchess said, that in adopting this mode of

education, she consulted the peace of mind of her children. For, as it was generally expected, that the wife should conform to the religion of her husband, particularly in marriages between sovereign princes, so it would be less painful to her daughters to take up a new religion, when they could not be said to sacrifice an old one.

It must, however, be admitted that this mode of religious education did not originate with the Duchess of Brunswick, for, it had been previously followed by the Duchess of Wirtemberg; and the benefit of it was soon apparent in one of her daughters marrying an archduke of Russia, when she was obliged to adopt the Greek religion, and another marrying the Archduke Francis of Austria, when she was obliged to become a Roman Catholic.

This liberal mode of education in regard to religion, gave to the sentiments and opinions of the Princess Caroline a liberality of construction and a positive degree of latitude, which are the never-failing characteristics of an enlarged understanding. She never ridiculed the faith of others, and a matrimonial alliance which was at one time upon the tapis, would have actually put her spirit of toleration to the proof, for her intended husband belonged to one of the most bigotted Roman Catholic families of Germany, nor was this union set aside on account of the difference of religious principles, but from a rooted dislike on the part of the princess to her intended husband.

As in every age there are some predominant virtues and vices, every age must have its peculiar ideas of female merit; and we allow those the greater share who possess most of the virtues and avoid the defects of the times in which they live. Some positive idea may be formed of the importance which the Princess Caroline, attached to the female character, and of that regard which is peculiarly due to its cultivation, by the following sentiments which she expressed to the celebrated Schiller, during the time that he superintended the theatrical department of the Brunswick court. This conversation* arose from some strictures which her serene highness had made regarding the character of Amelia in the celebrated tragedy of the Robbers, and in which she successfully exposed the inconsistency of the character. I consider, said her serene highness that woman to be the most estimable, who while she brings into the world all the charms of society, that is to say, taste, grace, and genius, knows at the same time, how to guard her reason and her heart from that insipid vanity, that false sensibility, the violent self-love, and from all those affectations which spring up from an inordinate love of society; who, against her inclinations, submits to customs and usages, because it is a necessary part of wisdom, and does not, in the mean time, lose sight

* This conversation is given in full in the last edition of Schiller's *Prosaischen Schriften*, but our limits will not allow us to give the whole of it.

of nature, but still sometimes turns herself towards reflection upon what is natural, at least to honour it by her regrets.

"I consider that woman to be estimable, who, in cultivating philosophy and letters, loves them for their own sake, and not for a vain and frivolous reputation; who by the study of good books endeavours to enlighten her understanding by the knowledge of truth, to strengthen her mind by principles, and leave others the jargon, the parade, and the words; in short, her who will not caress a worthless person, because he happens to have a credit and a name, but at the hazard of displeasing, determines, in her house, and out of it, to preserve her esteem for virtue, her contempt for vice, her sensibility for friendship, and in spite of the passion for having an extensive society, dares, even in the midst of that society, have the courage to publish a mode of thinking so extraordinary, and the still greater courage to act to it."

These were the sentiments of the Princess Caroline, at a very early period of her life, and time has shewn how she has been able to reduce these sentiments to practice.

A severe family affliction obliged her serene highness, for a time, to seclude herself from the world; this was the death of her amiable brother Leopold, who lost his life under circumstances of the most distressing nature. These are related in the Leyden Gazette of 1785, in the following terms:

"We have, within these few days, experienced the greatest calamities, by the overflowing of the Oder, which burst its banks in several places, and carried away houses, bridges, and every thing that opposed its course. Numbers of people lost their lives in this rapid inundation; but of all the accidents rising from it, none was so generally lamented as the death of the good prince Leopold of Brunswick. This amiable personage standing at the side of the river, a woman threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to give orders for some persons to go to the rescue of her children, whom, bewildered by the sudden danger, she had left behind her in the house; some soldiers who were also in the same place, were crying for help. The prince endeavoured to procure a flat bottomed boat, but no one could be found to venture across the river, even though the prince offered large sums of money, and promised to share the danger. At last, moved by the cries of the unfortunate inhabitants of the suburb, and led by the sentiment of his own benevolent heart, he took the resolution of going to their assistance himself. Those who were about him endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprise, but, touched to the soul by the distress of the miserable people, he replied in the following words; "What am I more than either you or they? I am a man like yourselves, and nothing ought to be attended to here but the voice of humanity." Unshaken, therefore in his resolution, he imme-

diately embarked with three watermen in a small boat, and crossed the river; the boat did not want the three lengths of the bank, when it struck against a tree, and in an instant they all together with the boat, disappeared. A few minutes after the prince rose again, and supported himself a short time, by taking hold of a tree, but the violence of the current soon bore him down, and he never appeared more. The boatmen, more fortunate, were every one saved, and the prince alone became the victim of his own humanity. The whole city was in affliction for the loss of this truly amiable prince, whose humility, gentleness of manners, and compassionate disposition endeared him to all ranks. He lived, indeed, as he died, in the highest exercise of humanity. Had not the current been so rapid, he would, no doubt, have been saved, as he was a remarkably good swimmer."

This afflicting circumstance threw, for a time, a settled gloom over the whole of the Brunswick court, but particularly over the mind of the Princess Caroline. For a long time she forbore to mingle in the amusements of the court, and directed her attention to the study of the most eminent of the German authors. It is true that the literature of Germany was not, at that time, well calculated to soften the grief which then pressed so heavily upon the heart of her serene highness; for its mawkish display of sensibility, and its warm delineation of those scenes which rack the

finer feelings of the heart were then the chief ornaments of the majority of the German works.

The Princess Caroline lived for some time in a state of comparative seclusion, until the momentous events which were then passing upon the theatre of Europe, roused her from her lethargy, and directed her attention to objects of a more important nature.

France having long groaned under the despotism of the Bourbons, burst on a sudden the chains which had so long enthralled her, and the day-star of liberty rose on the fairest portion of Europe,—but Europe leagued her armies against her; and from the country where liberty had reared its standard, and which had borne "the battle and the breeze" for centuries, her princes went forth to stop "the day-star" in its course, and to plunge an enlightened country again into the darkness of monarchical despotism.

It is within the recollection of the present generation, that the Duke of York headed the English troops against France, and during one of his campaigns, that he visited the court of Brunswick. He there saw the Princess Caroline, and in a short time afterwards a treaty of marriage was secretly entered upon between her serene highness and the heir apparent to the British throne. This alliance was particularly pleasing to the Duchess of Brunswick, and every endeavour on her part was used to promote it. The circumstances attending this marriage were,

however, different from those which generally distinguish state alliances, for the treaty was carried on in complete secrecy, and not even one of the members of the crown was privy to any treaty for the marriage of his royal highness being on the tapis. They were well aware of the repugnance his royal highness had always manifested towards entering into any matrimonial alliance; but circumstances of a very imperious nature, independent of the general voice of the nation, that the succession of the house of Brunswick should be secured, combined at this time to induce his royal highness to accede to the urgent solicitation of his family, and particularly of his father, who had strong reasons, not only of a private but of a political nature, to induce the heir apparent to enter into the matrimonial state.

The first intimation of the intended marriage was conveyed to the public in the speech which his majesty delivered on the 30th of December, 1794, to both houses of parliament, in which he expresses himself in the following manner:

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of my son the Prince of Wales, with the princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick: the constant proofs of your affection for my person and family, persuade me, that you will participate in the sentiments I feel, on an occasion so interesting to my domestic happiness, and that you will enable me to make provision for such an establishment, as you may think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.

KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

London, Published by Tho.ˢ Kelly, *17, Paternoster Row, Feb. 24, 1821.*

And in their address to his majesty, the commons say :—

We cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction which all your majesty's subjects must derive from the auspicious event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick; and that, participating warmly in the sentiments which your majesty must feel on an occasion not less connected with the interests of your people than with the domestic happiness of your majesty, we shall cheerfully proceed to enable your majesty to make provision for an establishment suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.

His royal highness was at this time involved in debt to the amount of 631,000*l.*, and his majesty adhered inflexibly to the determination that he had often expressed, not to pay a farthing of the debt; but it was supposed to have been stated to him, that an arrangement of his pecuniary affairs depended on his consent to the marriage, which had been proposed to him. Nor is this statement wholly divested of credit, for it was in a great degree confirmed by a message which his majesty sent down to the House of Commons, on the 27th of April, 1795, a fortnight after the nuptials, in which is stated, the reliance of his majesty upon their generosity for enabling him to settle an establishment upon the prince and his august bride, suited to their rank and dignity,—that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to

the prince till he was relieved from his present incumbrances to a large amount,—but that his majesty did not propose to his parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which might be settled on the prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a regular arrangement in the prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

Previously, however, to entering into a statement of the arrangement which was entered into in consequence of the royal message, we shall revert to the circumstances immediately attending the nuptials.

It was in the morning of the 30th December, 1794, that her serene highness (after having undergone the customary formalities of being solemnly demanded in marriage, and the usual contract being signed, by which she became entitled to the distinction of Princess of Wales,) left the court of Brunswick, attended by her mother and a most splendid retinue. We shall pass over the congratulations which were paid her royal highness by the authorities of Brunswick, on the elevated station which she was soon to occupy, and on the advantages which might accrue to her native country from so exalted an alliance. The acclamations of the people followed her for several miles on her route, and the blessings of many

whom she had left behind her, followed her to the shores of Britain.

The Duchess of Brunswick being taken ill at Peina, a short delay was occasioned on the journey, but soon recovering from her indisposition, the illustrious travellers proceeded to Herrenhausen, near Hanover, where they arrived to dinner.

The north of Germany being at that time the seat of war, the princess was obliged to take a circuitous route to reach the sea-port where the British vessels were in readiness to receive her. On the 1st of January 1795, they reached Osnaburg by easy stages, at which place they were met by a messenger from Lord St. Helens, announcing the return of commodore Payne's squadron to England, and apprising her of the danger of entering Holland during the state of affairs as they then stood.

The bishop's palace had been fitted up for the reception of the royal visitors, and after a stay of a few weeks at Hanover, whither her serene highness had been invited by the regency, for the sake of better accommodation, they proceeded to Cuxhaven, where she embarked on the 28th of March, in the Jupiter, captain Lechmere. Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and Lord Malmesbury, embarked in the same ship; major Heslop, colonel Richardson, and Mr. Ross, in the Phæton frigate, captain Stopford. On Sunday morning at eight o'clock, the ships weighed anchor from Cuxhaven, with a fair wind at E.N.E.,

which continued till Wednesday, when a thick fog came on. They were then only six leagues from Yarmouth, but as it was dangerous to draw nearer the coast, the ships dropped anchor, and fired fog guns every hour. In this situation they lay through the whole of Thursday. The princess had hitherto been extremely well, had walked the quarter deck every day, and was uncommonly cheerful; but what with the fog, and the motion of the vessel at anchor, she became a little incommoded. The morning, on Friday, was uncommonly fine; and, at four o'clock, the Jupiter made the signal to get under weigh. The fleet went under an easy sail, came off Harwich about noon, and passed through the Swin, to enter the Thames. About two, a very thick fog came on, which obliged the commodore to drop anchor. At four, the fog dispersed, and the signal being made to unmoor, the fleet again got under weigh, and about six o'clock dropped anchor at the Nore; being saluted from the Sandwich guardship stationed off there.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning, 4th of April, the ships got under weigh, the tide serving, and about noon the Jupiter anchored off Gravesend. The princess slept on board that night.

On Sunday morning, as soon as the tide served, her serene highness, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, Lord Malmesbury, and commodore Payne, disembarked from the Jupiter, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and, after twelve o'clock,

landed at Greenwich hospital. The princess was received on her landing, by Sir Hugh Palliser, the governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the governor's house, where she took tea and coffee. Lady Jersey did not arrive at the governor's till an hour after the princess had landed: and soon after they both retired into an adjoining room, and the dress of the princess was changed, from a muslin gown and blue satin petticoat, with a black beaver hat, and blue and black feathers, for a white satin gown, and very elegant turban cap of satin, trimmed with crape, and ornamented with white feathers, which were brought from town by Lady Jersey.

A little after two o'clock, her serene highness left the governor's house, and got into one of the king's coaches, drawn by six horses. In this coach were also Mrs. Harcourt and Lady Jersey. Another of his majesty's coaches and six preceded it, in which were Mrs. Harvey Aston, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clermont, and Colonel Greville. In a third coach with four horses, were two women servants, whom the princess brought from Germany, and were her only German attendants from that country. The princess's carriage was escorted on each side by a party of the Prince of Wales' own regiment of light dragoons. Beside this escort, the road was lined at small distances by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were stationed from Greenwich all the way to the Horse-Guards. In her way through the crowds of

people that lined the whole way, her serene highness bowed and smiled in a most affable manner.

Before three o'clock, her serene highness alighted at St. James's, and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception, which look into Cleveland-row.

After a short time, the princess appeared at the windows, which were thrown up, that the people might have a sight of her. They huzzaed her, and she courtseyed; and this continued some minutes, until the prince arrived from Carlton-house. His royal highness, on entering the palace, appeared extremely agitated. He was introduced to the princess by Lord Malmesbury, and immediately saluted her. Mrs. Harcourt had, in in the meantime, gone to the queen's-house, to announce the princess's arrival.

The head dress of the princess, was the same as that in which she was painted in the picture sent by the Duke of Brunswick to the prince; and his royal highness was dressed in a full suit of the hussar uniform of his regiment, the same as the dress of his picture, painted by Cosway, and sent to the princess.

A little before five, the prince and princess sat down to dinner. At the same table were Lady Jersey, Mrs. Harvey Aston, Mrs. Harcourt, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clermont, Colonel Greville, and Major Heslop.

The people continuing to huzza before the palace, his royal highness, after dinner, appeared at

the window, and thanked them for this mark of their attention; but he hoped that they would excuse her appearance then, as it might give her cold. This completely satisfied the crowd, who gave the prince three cheers, and dispersed.

About eight, the king, queen, and all the princesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William, and the Princess Sophia, were introduced to her serene highness; and it was eleven o'clock before they retired. The princess was then left under the care of Mrs. Harvey Aston, who slept in the royal apartments.

The public journalists of the day vied with each other in lavishing their praises of the beauty and accomplishments of the fair stranger, and no pains were spared in giving due eclat to the ceremony of the marriage, which took place on the 8th of April, 1795, in presence of the King and Queen, and of all the persons of elevated rank in the kingdom, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and which was solemnized by the then Archbishop of Canterbury.

On entering the chapel, her highness was conducted to the seat prepared for her near her majesty's chair of state, the master of the ceremonies, with the gentleman usher, retiring to the places assigned them.

The lord chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, returned to attend the bridegroom, the senior herald remaining in the chapel to conduct the several persons to their respective places.

The bridegroom having been conducted to his seat, their majesties entered in state, attended by all the members of the royal family and the great officers of state, and went to their chairs on the *hautpas*, and the rest of the royal family to those prepared for them.

The marriage ceremony then commenced, and at the conclusion of the service their majesties retired to their chairs of state under the canopy while the anthem was performing.

The procession, at the return, filed off in the privy chamber. Their majesties, the bridegroom and bride, with the rest of the royal family, and the great officers, proceeded into the levee chamber, where the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities; after which, the procession continued into the lesser drawing-room; and their majesties, with the bridegroom and bride, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber, where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, paid their compliments on the occasion.

When the drawing-room closed, the royal family, with the bride and bridegroom, and the lords and ladies in attendance, proceeded to Buckingham-house to supper, where a splendid entertainment was provided by the queen. About twelve o'clock the prince and princess retired to Carlton-house, where their royal highnesses slept. The royal pair were next morning visited

by the king and queen, previous to their departure for Windsor, whither they were followed by their royal highnesses, who spent the day with their majesties.

The celebration of this splendid ceremony was hailed by all ranks and orders of people with enthusiasm. The thundering expressions of delight by the cannon in the park and at the tower, were answered by the acclamations of the populace, the ringing of bells; by the display of flags, the flashing of a million tapers, fantastically shining in all shapes and dimensions, and illuminating the whole of the metropolis. The sympathetic feeling extended itself with the rapidity of lightning to the remotest parts of the empire, and produced the most enthusiastic effusions of loyalty and joy.

Addresses of congratulation on the nuptials poured in from all parts of the kingdom. England received her as its future queen, and the succession to the British throne appeared to be confirmed in the illustrious house of Brunswick. The fame of the personal charms and accomplishments of the bride had preceded her arrival in this country, and her first appearance at court tended by no means to discredit the rumours which had been so industriously circulated. Her *entrée* was truly majestic, accompanied at the same time with a sweetness and affability of manners, which rivetted the admiration of all who beheld her. The intelligence of her eyes—

the high animation of her countenance, the whiteness and regularity of her teeth; the simple and elegant manner in which her hair, of a beautiful light auburn colour, was dressed, all conspired to render her one of the most interesting objects of the day. Her taste in every part of her dress was equally elegant, from which it was prognosticated that her royal highness would become the standard of fashion.

The history of this country presents few examples of connubial felicity resulting from the matrimonial alliances of royalty. They are mere state engagements formed to support the legitimate succession to the crown, and have neither affection, nor even mutual esteem, for their basis. It must, however, be granted, that in a political sense, the interest of two states become identified with each other, and their power becomes consolidated, by matrimonial alliances; but this position is only to be considered as true in relation to those states whose boundaries are contiguous, and which have a common interest to defend against the ambition or encroachment of a superior power. In regard, however, to this country, the pages of its history are by no means replete with instances of any advantage accruing to it from foreign matrimonial alliances—but, on the contrary, that they have been the cause of involving it in some of its most bloody and expensive wars. With this melancholy truth before our eyes, it must be allowed, that a greater latitude might be given to our royal

family in their matrimonial alliances; and except when the immediate succession to the crown is concerned, that choice, and not compulsion, might be the basis of their matrimonial union. We should then, perhaps, see happiness and comfort abounding where now we behold disgust, distaste, and neglect; and the country would not have to rue those family divisions, which are not only at variance with morality and virtue, but also with the best interests of the state.

One of the first public steps which was taken after the nuptials, was the consideration in the House of Commons of the pecuniary embarrassments of the Prince of Wales, and the removal of which now became necessary in order to enable him to support the dignity and splendor of his rank, and to defray the increased expenses of his household in consequence of his marriage.

The consideration of this question came on in the house on the 14th of May, 1795; when after a most animated exordium, in which the immediate interest of the country in supporting the dignity and splendor of the royal family was strongly insisted on by Mr. Pitt, he proceeded to state the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the prince, and a jointure for her royal highness. The income of the prince was at this time 60,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which was about 13,000*l.* more. Eighty years ago his great grandfather, then Prince of Wales, had 100,000*l.* with-

out that duchy, and it must be admitted, that the difference of expense between the former period and the present time, amounted to at least one fourth of the whole income. Mr. Pitt, therefore proposed, that the income of his royal highness should be 125,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, and this sum he thought the committee would be disposed to allow to the prince, on the event of a marriage in which they approved and rejoiced. With respect to future regulations he should state the preparations for the marriage at 27,000*l.* for jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* for finishing Carlton-house. Mr. Pitt further proposed that Carlton-house should be vested in the crown for ever, and that the furniture should be considered as an heir-loom, and that all suits for recovery of debts from his royal highness should lie against his officers. Mr. Pitt concluded a most luminous speech by moving, that his majesty be enabled to appropriate 65,000*l.* annually, as an establishment for the Prince of Wales.

The question of the Prince of Wales's debts, gave rise to some very warm and animated discussions in both houses of parliament, some parts of which could not be very agreeable to the feelings of his royal highness. On the 1st of June, a message from the Prince of Wales was brought down by Mr. Anstruther, which stated, that his royal highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the house, both with respect to his future expenditure, and the

appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him, for the discharge of his debts: his wish was entirely to consult the wisdom of parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in any abatement of splendor they might judge necessary; and desired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially disposed to think he ought to have; in fine, that whatever measures were taken by Parliament would meet with his hearty concurrence.

A bill was subsequently brought into the house for preventing future Princes of Wales from incurring debts, and it subsequently passed the house. The jointure of the Princess of Wales was settled at 50,000*l.* a year.

When the bill for settling an establishment on the Prince of Wales was read a second time in the House of Lords, the Duke of Clarence said, "the bill to prevent future Princes of Wales from contracting debts, was attended with a marked personality to his royal highness. When the marriage of the Prince of Wales was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should be exonerated from his debts. From such a stipulation, was it to be expected that the debts were to be left hanging over him for the space of nine years, or longer? Was this a method to support his dignity and independence? The prince had certainly acquiesced in whatever measures were taken by the wisdom of Parliament. How could he do otherwise? Advantage had been taken of

the difficulties in which he was involved, to procure this from him. He was forced to express his acquiescence, that something might be done."

This was, certainly, under the then existing circumstances, one of the most indiscreet avowals which an advocate of his royal highness could make, and it tended to open the eyes of the public more in regard to the real motive of the marriage, than any other circumstances which had been previously laid before the public; and in a short time it laid the foundation for that obloquy with which his royal highness was afterwards visited. The royal duke, in the course of his speech, described the Princess of Wales as a lovely and amiable woman, torn from her family, and removed from all her early connections. What then must be her feelings from such circumstances (alluding to the princes' debts) attendant on her reception in a country where she had a right to expect every thing befitting her high rank, and the exalted station to which she was called.

On the report of the Prince of Wales's Establishment Bill being read, General Smith proposed to appropriate out of the sum allowed to his royal highness, 1,250*l.* per quarter for the private use of the Princess of Wales, but the motion was negatived, as it was known to be at variance with the wishes of her royal highness.

The establishment of their royal highness's being arranged, the most economical mode of life was adopted, which could be considered as consistent with their exalted rank. It was, however, currently reported, that this mode of life did not exactly coincide with the wishes of her royal highness, who, as she considered herself the consort of the heir apparent to the crown, thought herself entitled to all the splendor with which that exalted station is surrounded.

If, however, we are to judge from the traits of her royal highness's character, as displayed at a future time, we see no good grounds for the truth of this report—if she had ever shewn a predilection for expensive establishments, beyond those to which her rank and station gave her a positive claim, then the cause of the *first* disagreement which took place between their royal highnesses, might have been attributed to an unwillingness on her part, to conform to the mode of life to which his royal highness determined to restrict himself. But alas! the cause had a deeper root, and which began to display itself in a very short time after the marriage.

It was well known that the union was particularly pleasing to his majesty, as he hoped thereby to destroy a connexion which had unhappily subsisted for a length of time between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and

which was particularly displeasing to his majesty, not only on account of its immoral tendency, but on the score of the religious tenets of the lady in question.

It appears, however, from various statements, that although some conditions had been entered into, that his royal highness should give up the connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert, yet in a letter, written by Mr. Jefferys to that lady, from which we give the following extract, it will be seen that the conditions were not adhered to.

When the Prince of Wales was married to the princess, it was agreed that you should retire from that *intimacy of friendship* you had so long enjoyed, and your houses in Pall-mall and at Brighton were given up accordingly.

However creditable, prospectively, to your character, that you did retire to the villa purchased for you at Castle-bear, yet, viewed in a *retrospective* light, the *necessity* of such a retreat, (accompanied, as it was, by a pension of several thousands per annum, payable quarterly at an eminent banker's, and a retention of the very valuable jewels, plate, *&c. &c.* given to you by the prince,) did not, in the opinion of the world, add much good fame to your reputation.

Had you continued in the retirement expected of you, the world would probably never have disturbed you in the enjoyment of your great possessions, by any reflections upon the mode of their acquisition; but, not long after the Prince of Wales was married, his royal highness discontinued to live with the princess, and returned to your society, in which he was eagerly received!!!

O shame! where is thy blush?

"The defiance to public opinion in the departure from decency, which the conduct of the lady alluded to exhibits, since the marriage of your royal highness, is such as cannot be reprobated with too much severity, and is very justly appreciated by the public, by whom her name is never mentioned unaccompanied with expressions of the greatest contempt.

"The forlorn and hapless female, compelled to seek refuge from famine and despair in resources which her aching heart condemns, claims at once the pity and forgiveness of the world.

We will not pretend to enter into the question of the authenticity of the fact, thus promulgated by Mr. Jefferys, of his royal highness continuing to cohabit with Mrs. Fitzherbert after his marriage; it being sufficient to state, that it was universally credited at the time, and it was believed to have been the foundation of those differences which manifested themselves in a short time, to the total destruction of the matrimonial happiness of the royal couple.

Soon after the royal marriage, the Prince and Princess of Wales accompanied their majesties and five princesses to Covent Garden theatre, to see "Life's Vagaries," and "Windsor Castle." As it was the first time of the Princess of Wales's appearance in public, every part of the theatre was crowded as soon as the doors were opened. Their royal highnesses entered about a quarter past six, and the princess was received with the loudest acclamations of joy and congratulation. The Princess of Wales seemed very highly to

enjoy the scene: she was highly gratified with the heartfelt tributes of applause which she received, for the first time, from a British audience, and which she repaid by the most enchanting affability and condescension.

In celebration of the royal nuptials, the queen gave a grand fête at Frogmore, on the 21st of May. At six o'clock in the evening, their majesties and the princesses went there, and at half-past nine they were joined by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Duke and Duchess of York. The ball immediately commenced; eleven tables were laid for supper, and at twelve o'clock, 170 persons sat down. The room was beautifully decorated with artificial flowers, interwoven with bay-leaves encircling the pillars. The upper part of the room, where their majesties sat, was ornamented with three beautiful paintings of flowers, executed by the Princess Elizabeth. The ball-room was elegantly decorated with artificial flowers; and the ceiling was painted in imitation of the firmament, the effect of which was uncommonly fine. In the centre of the room was an elegant white and silver feather, with the initials, G. C. P., and the centre of the supper-room was decorated with a beautiful transparent star, with a number of variegated lamps, in festoons. The dancing re-commenced after supper, and the rest of the company did not separate till nearly four in the morning.

The ladies were universally dressed in white, with white feathers in their heads, intermixed

with diamonds. The gentlemen were generally in blue and gold.

It was however very evident to those who were immediately included in the royal circle, that her majesty and the Princess of Wales were not upon the most gracious terms; and in the month of June, a letter from the Princess of Wales, containing some indecorous expressions respecting the queen being intercepted, some violent disagreements arose upon the subject, and finally tended to enlarge the breach which had been already made in the conjugal felicity of the royal pair.

In regard to these intercepted letters, which at this time were so much the subject of conversation, we acknowledge our obligations for the liberty of transcribing the following letters, which throw some light upon this mysterious affair.

Several malicious and scandalous paragraphs having appeared in the newspapers of that period, accusing the Countess of Jersey of having opened a letter intrusted to the care of her ladyship, by her royal highness the Princess of Wales, and adding, that the letter so opened had been conveyed by the countess to the queen, Lord Jersey came forward in a public manner to clear the character of his lady from the imputations which had been thrown upon it, and to prove that they had been fabricated for the most malicious purposes.

It appears that Dr. Randolph, who it is said was advanced to a bishopric, in consequence of

ment required by her ladyship, having, as he expresses himself, no clue to the transaction, the following letter was written by Lord Jersey to the doctor, dated June 30, 1796.

SIR,

Lady Jersey wrote to you early in the last week, requesting that a full statement from you, of all that had passed relating to the packet of letters belonging to her royal highness the Princess of Wales, might appear in public print. To that letter she has received no answer from you; nor have I learned that any such publication has appeared. The delay I have been willing to attribute to accident. But it now becomes my duty to call upon you, and I do require it of you, that an explicit narrative may be laid before the public; it is a justice she is entitled to, a justice Lady Jersey's character claims, and which she has, and which you have acknowledged she has, a right to demand at your hands.

Your silence upon this occasion I shall consider as countenancing that calumny which the false representations of the business have so shamefully and unjustly drawn upon Lady Jersey.

I am, &c.

In consequence of this resolute letter, the doctor, after a week had elapsed, wrote to Lady Jersey, in which, after some prefatory matter, he gives her permission to make the following statement public.

I need not recall to your ladyship's recollection, the interview I had with the princess at Brighton, when she delivered to me the packet in question; all her attendants in waiting were, I believe, present, and the conversation

generally turned upon the various branches of her august family, and the alteration I should find in them after an absence of ten years. This interview, if I am not mistaken, took place on the 30th of August, and after waiting, by her royal highness' desire, till the 14th, when the prince was expected from Windsor, to know if he had any commands to honour me with; I had no sooner received from Mr. Churchill his royal highness's answer than I departed from London with the intention of proceeding to Yarmouth on the 11th. On my arrival in town, finding some very unpleasant accounts of the state of Mrs. R's. health, I took the liberty of signifying the occurrence to her royal highness; annexing to it, at the same time, a wish to defer my journey for the present, and that her royal highness would permit me to return the packet, or allow me to consign it to the care of a friend, who was going into Germany, and would see it safely delivered. To this I received, through your lordship, a most gracious message from her royal highness, requesting me by all means to lay aside my intentions, and to return the packet. In consequence of such orders, I immediately went to Carlton-house to inform myself by what conveyance the letters and parcels were usually sent to Brighton, and was told that no servant was employed, but that every day they were, together with the newspapers, committed to the charge of the Brighton post-coach from the Golden-cross, Charing-cross.

On the subsequent morning, therefore, I attended at the Golden-cross, previous to the departure of the coach, and having first seen it regularly booked, delivered my parcel, inclosing the princess's packet, addressed to your ladyship at the pavilion. Immediately afterwards I set out for Bath, and had scarcely been a fortnight at home when to my great surprise and mortification I received the following letter from your ladyship, dated Brighton, September 1st:

"In consequence of your letter, I had her royal highness the Princess of Wales's commands to desire that as you did not go to Brunswick, you should return the packet which she had given you. I wrote accordingly about a fortnight ago. Her royal highness not having received the packet, is uneasy about it, and desires you to inform me how you sent the letters to her, and where they were directed. If left at Carlton-house, pray call there, and make some inquiries respecting them. I am, &c."

To this unwelcome intelligence the following answer was sent by Dr. Randolph, dated Bath, September 4th:

I know not when I have been more seriously concerned than at the receipt of your ladyship's letter, which was forwarded to me this morning.

The morning I left town, which was on the 20th of August, I went to the Brighton post-coach, which I was told at Carlton-house was the usual conveyance of the princess's papers and packets, and booked a parcel addressed to your ladyship at the pavilion, inclosing the letters of her royal highness. I have sent to a friend in London by this night's post, to trace the business, and will request your ladyship to let your servants call at the Ship, the inn I believe the coach drives to at Brighton, to make inquiry there, and to examine the bill of parcels for Thursday the 20th August. If this prove not successful, I shall hold it my duty to return to town, and pursue the discovery myself. I shall not be easy till the packet is delivered safe; and trusting that this will soon be the case, I remain, &c.

Thus far extends the statement of the doctor; every possible inquiry was made by different persons at all the places in Brighton where parcels are delivered, but nothing could be heard of the

packet. The manner in which it was intercepted, or by whose agency the plot was carried on, remains to this day a profound secret; but when it is considered that it was subsequently discovered, that the letters of this celebrated packet were in the possession of the queen, or at least that they had been submitted to her majesty for her perusal, some indignation is naturally felt at the mean artifices which were adopted to ascertain the sentiments and opinions which her royal highness entertained of those around her, and which was but the commencement of that system of *espionage* which appears to have been adopted towards her throughout the remainder of her life.

Plausible and probable as the statement of Dr. Randolph appeared to be, and conspicuous as Lady Jersey's anxiety was displayed to clear her character, there were many at this time who looked upon the whole transaction with a most suspicious eye, and who regarded the petty squabble between Dr. Randolph and Lord Jersey as a shallow manœuvre, to exonerate each other from that blame which was publicly attached to them, and which at last could not be done away by the mere asseveration of the offending parties. The circumstance of some of the letters falling into the hands of the queen, evidently proved, that there was actual design in the loss of the packet intrusted to Dr. Randolph, and that it was not to be ascribed to any of those accidents

to which the loss of parcels is in general to be attributed.

It was certain, that the marriage of the prince was by no means agreeable to some individuals with whom he was at that time in the habit of associating, and who by their artifices had gained a powerful ascendancy over him. His marriage sounded the knell of their influence, and, therefore, envy and malignity were set to work to achieve that disunion which the country has had so much reason to deplore.

The continued intimacy of the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert was greedily seized upon by the malignant party, and the story was revived of his previous marriage with that lady, which, although it had been formally contradicted in Parliament, was still confidently believed by many, and the celebrated letter of Horne Tooke tended not a little to confirm the public in the belief. But the question was again agitated shortly after the marriage of the prince, whether, as his union with Mrs. Fitzherbert had been publicly disavowed, her appearance at all the parties at which his royal highness was present, and in the very face of his acknowledged wife, was not only a gross breach of decorum, but an open insult to her royal highness the Princess of Wales.

An attempt was made even in the French papers, to shew the impropriety of this step, and

the following rational comment appeared in the *Courier de l'Europe*:

"La fable du prétendu mariage de S. A. R. Mgr. le Prince de Galles, a enfin été expliquée en plein Parlement de manière à ne plus laisser de doute, c'est une explication qui est d'autant plus fâcheuse pour Mme. F—h—t que l'on a supposé des liens entre S. A. R. et cette dame, sur lesquels on n'avoit pas encore prononcée. Jusqu'ici Mme. F—h—t a été reçue dans toutes les sociétés où était invité le prince; *mais il ne sera guère possible aujourd'hui qu'elle jouisse des mêmes avantages*, à moins que cette première explication n'en entraine une autre et que la prétendue intimité de S. A. R. ne soit présentée sous des couleurs *admissibles en bonne compagnie*."

It may be easily credited, that this circumstance was by no means likely to increase the connubial felicity of the royal pair, and, it was soon perceived that a total indifference and a positive dislike to each other's society, distinguished their behaviour. The princess retired more and more into private life, and was seldom heard of, except on those days when etiquette required her attendance at court.

A short time after the marriage, the prayer in the Liturgy for the royal family was altered by authority of the council. It previously stood as follows: "That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Charlotte, his royal highness George Prince of Wales, and all the

royal family." The following addition was now made: "That it may please thee to bless, *&c.*, their royal highnesses George Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the royal family." It has been deemed necessary to notice this change in the Liturgy, as in a future part of these Memoirs, it will appear as a circumstance of no ordinary interest.

A circumstance far more interesting than personal differences contributed at this time in a particular degree to remove her royal highness from the public gaze, and this was her pregnancy, which had been officially announced to his majesty, and all the members of the royal family. It was, however, remarked that her royal highness in her most interesting situation was seldom visited by any of the female branches of the royal family, and scarcely ever by her majesty, who, having been herself the mother of a numerous family, might be naturally supposed to evince a particular disposition to assist her daughter-in-law with that maternal advice which she was so well enabled to give. She, however, appeared to be doomed to bear her sorrows in secret, and the only hope of future happiness, seemed to repose on the babe which Heaven in its compassion for her sufferings was soon to call into existence.

In the mean time preparations were made for the reception of the royal heir. The cheering prospect of a regular succession to the throne, was

highly pleasing to the nation, and on no occasion was the attachment of the people to the illustrious House of Brunswick more conspicuously displayed. The anxiety displayed by the late king on this occasion will never be forgotten by those who had the happiness of witnessing it. It was the anxiety of the parent coupled with the patriotism of the monarch, who beholds in legitimate succession a safeguard against civil dissentions and intestine feuds. It was the first of his inquiries in the morning, the last on his retiring to rest; and with a due sense of that religion, the exercise of which had thrown such pure and unsullied splendor over a well spent life, he morning and night, surrounded by his family, offered up his prayers to that Being who can soothe the pangs of the mother, and still the cries of the child.

In the latter end of December, 1795, orders were issued to the cabinet ministers and other personages, whose attendance is prescribed on the birth of a royal child, to hold themselves in readiness; and on the 7th of January, 1796, at ten in the morning, the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a daughter, and the accouchement was conducted with the most solemn formalities. The personages present at the birth, were the Duke of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Leeds, the Lord Chamberlain, Earl Cholmondeley, Lord Thurlow,

and the ladies of the Princess of Wales's bed-chamber; the Prince of Wales was also present on this interesting and important occasion. At one period of her illness, the life of the princess was in the most imminent danger, and it was rumoured that it was saved by the intelligent friendship of a distinguished statesman; the young princess was christened according to the form of the Church of England, and received the name of Charlotte Augusta, the former being the name of her grandmother, the latter of her mother. The christening was solemnized on Thursday evening, the 11th of February, 1796, in the great drawing-room, at St. James's, by his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sponsors were their majesties in person, and her royal highness the Duchess of Brunswick, represented by her royal highness the Princess Mary.

Addresses of congratulation on the birth of the Princess Charlotte were not only voted by both Houses of Parliament, but were forwarded from every town and county. The address of the City of London was presented to their majesties, but the Prince of Wales declined receiving the city address but in private, and it was accordingly intimated to the Lord Mayor by Lord Cholmondeley; on which a court of common council was held on the 29th of January, at Guildhall, when a letter from Lord Cholmondeley to the City Remembrancer was read, wherein his lordship intimates, that the Prince of Wales declined receiv-

ing an address of the corporation at Carlton-house, and stating that the prince had commanded him to say, "That, being under the necessity of reducing his establishment, he was precluded from receiving the address in a manner suitable to his situation;" and his lordship requested to have copies of the address, *&c.*

Mr. Deputy Birch moved, "That the said letter be entered on the journals of the court;" which was agreed to.

The Deputy then moved, "That his royal highness the Prince of Wales, having stated that the inadequacy of his establishment precluded him from receiving the compliments of congratulation voted to be presented to their royal highnesses, in a manner suitable to his situation, this court are of opinion, that they cannot, consistently with their own dignity, suffer the said compliments to be presented in any other way than the customary form." After some conversation, the motion was agreed to, and the Remembrancer was ordered to convey a copy thereof to his royal highness.

On the 6th of February, at a court of common council, the Lord Mayor rose to state to the court, the conference he had had with the Prince of Wales, on the subject of not receiving the congratulatory address of the city in the usual form; observing, that in a matter of so delicate a nature, he had thought it his duty to commit the purport of this conversation to writing, which, with the

leave of the court, he would wish to be read. The communication was as follows:

"In consequence of a letter from Lord Cholmondeley, dated January 31, 1796, stating, that his royal highness the Prince of Wales wished to speak to me at Carlton-house, and to give me a private audience on Tuesday, (but which appointment was afterward, by a second letter, fixed for Monday last, at one o'clock), I had the honour of waiting on his royal highness, who addressed me by saying—that he had seen with concern in the public papers, a statement of what had passed in the court of common council on Thursday last, respecting a letter written by Lord Cholmondeley, at the command of his royal highness, and sent to the City Remembrancer, conveying his sentiments on the intended address of congratulation to their royal highnesses, which sentiments he conceived had been mistaken or misunderstood; or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. His royal highness said, that he thought it incumbent on him to preserve a consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state appendages attached to the character and rank of Prince of Wales, did not in consequence exist; his royal highness conceived he could not receive an address in state, and particularly from the corporation of the City of London, for which he entertained the highest

veneration and respect. His royal highness, therefore, thought it would appear disrespectful to the first corporate body in this kingdom, to receive the members of it inconsistently with their character and his own dignity."

After some observations, and precedents being looked into, it was unanimously agreed, that the particulars should be entered on the records.

It frequently happens that a reason is given for an action, which, although on the first view of it, appears highly plausible, and to be built upon probability, yet which in reality has no foundation whatever in truth. The reason which was given by the prince for not receiving the city address with the accustomed formality, appeared to the public to carry with it a certain degree of propriety, although it met with very severe animadversion from several writers of the day; yet, as the secret began to creep out through the dark cranny of the night, it was suspected that the refusal of the prince had a more melancholy reason than the reduction of his establishment.

Rumours had been for some time afloat of serious differences existing between the Prince and Princess of Wales, and that in fact a separation *e mensa et thoro* had actually taken place. The low murmurs of the portentous storm which threatened to subvert the happiness of the royal pair, and which had till now been only heard at a distance, began on a sudden to shew itself in

all its direful effects. The nation had been for some time lulled into the pleasing reflection, that the heir apparent to the throne, would, like his venerable sire, be surrounded by a numerous progeny, and that in the endearments of his children, in the sweets of domestic life, and in the practice of parental duties, he would find a solace from the cares of royalty, and enjoy that unsophisticated, heartfelt satisfaction, which is never to be found in the noise and turmoil of the mid night revel.

Weak and futile were, however, the hopes of the nation. In April 1796, exactly twelve months after the marriage, and three after the birth of the Princess Charlotte, the first decisive proof was given of the interruption of the connubial happiness of the royal pair, by a choice of separate dwellings. The rupture was too fatally confirmed by a letter sent from the Prince to the Princess of Wales, dated Windsor-castle, April 30, 1796, the substance of which had been previously conveyed to her royal highness, in a message by Countess Cholmondeley; but it being considered infinitely too important to rest merely upon a verbal communication, the princess, therefore, desired that his royal highness's pleasure should be communicated to her in writing.

In conformity to the desires of the Princess of Wales, that the wishes of his royal highness should be communicated in writing, the following letter was written:

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH.

London, Published by Tho^{s} Kelly, *17, Paternoster Row, Feb.^{y} 24, 1821.*

Windsor-Castle, April 30th, 1796.

MADAM,

As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness, and with as much propriety as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquillity and comfortable society are, however, in our power: let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition* which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing, at any period, a connexion of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

I am, Madam,

With great truth, very sincerely yours,

GEORGE P.

Her royal highness took nearly a week before she wrote an answer to the above extraordinary

* Upon the receipt of the message here alluded to, her royal highness, though she had nothing to do but to submit to the arrangement which his royal highness might determine upon, desired it might be understood, that she should insist that any such arrangement, if once made, should be considered as final; and that his royal highness should not retain the right, from time to time, at his pleasure, or under any circumstances, to alter it.

letter; and on the 6th of May, the following was sent, written originally in French, as on so delicate a subject she did not wish to submit her sentiments to any of her secretaries or ladies:

L'aveu de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley, ne m'étonne, ni m'offense. C'étoit me confirmer, ce que vous m'avez tacitement insinué depuis une année; mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse, ou pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne de me plaindre des conditions, que vous vous imposez à vous-même.

Je ne vous aurois fait de réponse si votre lettre n'étoit conçue de manière à faire douter, si cet arrangement vient de vous ou de moi; et vous savez que vous en avez seul l'honneur. La lettre que vous m'annoncez comme la dernière, m'oblige de communiquer au roi, comme à mon souverain, et à mon pere, votre aveu et ma réponse. Vous trouverez ci-incluse la copie de celle que j'écris au roi. Je vous en préviens pour ne pas m'attirer de votre part la moindre reproche de duplicité. Comme je n'ai dans ce moment, d'autre protecteur que sa majesté, je m'en rapporte uniquement à lui. Et si ma conduite mérite son approbation, je serai, du moins en partie, consolée.

Du reste, je conserve toute la connoissance possible de ce que je me trouve par votre moyen, comme Princesse de Galles, dans un situation à pouvoir me livrer sans contrainte, à un vertu chère a mon cœur,—je veux dire la bienfaisance. Ce sera pour moi un devoir d'agin de plus par un autre motif; savoir, celui de donner l'exemple de la patience, et de la résignation dans toutes sortes d épreuves. Rendez-moi la justice de me croire, que je ne cesserai jamais de faire des vœux pour votre bonheur, et d'être votre bien devouée

(Signé) CAROLINE.

The following is the translation of the letter of her royal highness:

The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me: it merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me; and you are aware that the honor of it belongs to you alone.

The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the king, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the king. I apprize you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject: and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart—I mean charity.

It will be my duty, likewise to act upon another motive—that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

Your much devoted

May 6, 1796. CAROLINE.

There is one passage in this letter which deserves particular notice, as it is indicatory of the

period when the royal differences began. The princess says, "The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirms what you *have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth.*" If, therefore, we go back to the period of the marriage, which took place in April, 1795, and compare it with the date of the foregoing letter, which is the 6th of May, 1796, we are led to the conclusion, that the cause which actuated his royal highness to avow the sentiments toward his consort expressed in his letter, must have existed before or at the very termination of the honey-moon. Their connubial felicity must have been short indeed—it must have been witnessed by the evening sun, and dispelled by the morning beam. It is very true, as his royal highness expresses himself, that our inclinations are not in our power, but it is only true in reference to the inclinations of the heart: now, when we consider that the inclinations of the heart have little or nothing to do with royal marriages, we must look for some other cause for that indifference towards his consort, which appears to have swayed the royal breast a few short weeks after he had sworn, in the face of Heaven at the altar, to love and cherish her.

The real causes of domestic alienation have in all situations been difficult to ascertain, but in palaces the difficulty is twofold. Wherever many separate interests, some undermining and some

openly convolve and are at work, much disguise is inevitable, and little truth should be expected. An endless variety of contradictory rumour must of necessity be given of the same circumstance; and, although truth *can* be told accurately but one way, the current story of a court serpentines into a thousand curves, and the direct fact, by being bent different ways according to the different interests of the reporters, acquires the more crookedness the more it is dispersed; like an entangled chain pulled with violence in opposite directions, it receives a twist from every hand—the difficulty multiplies, its tortuity becomes confirmed, till like the Gordian knot it is pronounced to be indissoluble.

That the inclinations of the prince did not lead him to mary at all, is an undeniable fact; and, it is scarcely a matter of dispute whether he would have married at all, had he not received a direct refusal from his offended parent to extricate him from his pecuniary difficulties, and thereby found himself under the necessity of entering into a matrimonial engagement, as one of the positive conditions of the liquidation of his debts. Matrimony was evidently forced upon him; but no private feeling, nor combination of circumstances should ever have induced him to lose sight of that respect and attention which were due to the wedded partner of his bed; and, ere a few weeks had elapsed after their marriage, to notify to her the discovery that he had made, that

Nature had not made them suitable to each other. At that period no living being had dared to attach a stain to the character of her royal highness—no spy had, as yet through chinks, crevices, or keyholes, witnessed the violation of her nuptial vows; she had as yet never been seen to pass the barrier of conjugal duty, though perhaps, the same could not be said of other people. She had as yet faithfully adhered to the vows she had sworn, and under her heart she then bore the pledge of her nuptial love. It is, therefore, evident that it was no presumption of guilt, of levity, or licentiousness, which first unloosed the bonds of matrimonial harmony; but, as Nature had not made them suitable to each other, a letter of license was to be given, allowing each other to follow their own inclinations in the manner most agreeable to themselves.

A cotemporary writer, speaking of this memorable letter of license, says, "Who is there with one particle of refinement in his frame that does not feel the delicate phraseology of this letter? who does not admire the fine taint of taste and of decency that is thrown over every word of the composition? who after perusing this precious document of conjugal affection, will say that princes are deficient in sensibility? who can now be at all surprised that the writer of such an unparalleled effusion of virtue and decorum, of tenderness and affection, should complain of the

levities, or attempt to visit with dire vengeance, the imaginary licentiousness of his wife? Such a letter evidently gives the writer a most irresistible pretext for demanding that the affections of his consort should be for ever his, with individual and exclusive appropriation. Such a letter is too short in its precepts, and too moral in its spirit, to admit a point of variation in the compass of conjugal love. To such a husband, to one so charily jealous of his wife's honour, and so feelingly anxious for his own, who is there who will refuse to pay the tribute of respect? If in common life any woman, had received such an unlimited furlough from the restraints of matrimony, such a permission to indulge her particular inclinations, who would have thought that the husband had any reason to complain of the infidelity of his spouse? What court would have awarded any compensation for an imaginary injury, or what jury would have given any damages with such a document of conjugal licentiousness staring them in the face?

It must, however, be admitted, that in this unfortunate affair, an influence operated upon the prince, which in many instances was exercised in rather an indefensible manner, and often led to those domestic differences, which ultimately closed with a formal separation. The late queen was well known to espouse the cause of her son in all his matrimonial differences; to which may be added, the intrigues of certain females of high

consideration, who had previously to the marriage enjoyed the confidence of the prince, and who still retained a portion of their influence, which they used secretly, and on all occasions, to the great annoyance and disquietude of the princess, whose spirited remonstrances had only the effect of irritating the prince, and closing every avenue to an amicable adjustment of their differences. It may be easily forseen that this interference on the part of her majesty, which was guided by so direct a partiality to one of the illustrious parties, necessarily laid the foundation to much discord and altercation amongst the various branches of the royal family, and especially in regard to his majesty, who, although he felt as a parent for his son, yet, at the same time, never failed to mark his love and affection for his niece and daughter-in-law, and, indeed, it was chiefly owing to the interposition of his majesty that the Princess Charlotte was allowed to remain under the immediate care and guardianship of her mother.

The separation having been determined upon, a negotiation was entered into, as to the precise sum which her royal highness should be allowed as a separate maintenance; and it was at first fixed at 20,000*l* per annum. This, however, was not thought sufficient by her royal highness, who, though far from being of a mercenary disposition, yet wished to retain in her power the means of appearing again in the world, when circumstances required it, with that splendour which was due to

her exalted rank. The pecuniary circumstances of the prince were pleaded as a bar to the allowance of a greater sum; and, as the princess had expressed her intention of living in complete retirement, the sum which had been offered was thought by the persons appointed to negotiate the business, as fully ample to the maintenance of her limited establishment. Her royal highness, however, thought otherwise, and therefore rejected the allowance, thereby throwing herself entirely on the generosity of the prince, and rendering him, at the same time, liable for any debts she might contract.

On leaving Carlton-house, the Princess of Wales retired to a humble residence in the beautiful village of Charlton, in the neighbourhood of Blackheath, whither she was accompanied by Miss Garth, Miss Vernon, Mrs. Harcourt, and Mrs. Sander, a native of Brunswick, who came to this country in the capacity of dresser to her royal highness, and a few other ladies formed the whole of her female establishment. In this retired spot, her royal highness lived in a state of complete privacy; but her mind was not formed in that common mould, which disables it from seeking those resources within itself, from which not only rational delight, but intellectual improvement, naturally result. The people of England knew of the existence of the personage, who was to all appearances destined to be their future queen, but of her actions or her mode of life,

little transpired to attract the general attention. It requires, however, not a profound knowledge of the world, nor an extensive acquaintance with the subtle artifices and intrigues which are practised to gain a particular end, to consider the case as amounting to almost a mathematical demonstration, that the actions of an individual of the exalted rank of the Princess of Wales, and placed as she was under circumstances of the most single and unexampled nature, should not be the chosen object on which malice would spit its venom, or malignity direct its poisoned shafts. The circumstance, however, of the frequent visits of his majesty to the residence of his niece, stifled for a time the voice of calumny; for it was well known, that so long as her royal highness was countenanced by the king, it would be in vain to assail her, as his notions of decorum and virtue were too rigid to admit for a moment the idea, that he would continue his visits, were he not convinced that her royal highness had not committed any action by which his esteem and good opinion could be forfeited.

On her royal highness being appointed ranger of Greenwich Park, she removed from Charlton to Montague-house, on Blackheath; and it was here that his majesty often passed whole days in the society of his daughter-in-law, and the infant Princess Charlotte, to whom he was passionately attached. Some severe misunderstandings occurred, however, between his majesty and the

Prince of Wales on account of these visits; but, as no circumstance had as yet taken place to warrant his majesty in withdrawing his countenance from the princess, the prince, in the true spirit of filial obedience, yielded to the wishes of his parent, and forbore to express his chagrin upon the occasion.

The circumstance, however, of her majesty never visiting the princess, nor the latter appearing at any of the drawing-rooms, was plainly indicative of the differences which existed between the illustrious females, and opened the eyes of the public to the part which her majesty espoused in the question of the royal separation. We wish not to speak ill of the dead;—they are beyond our censure or our praise: but the impartiality of the historian obliges us to declare, that the breach which had taken place between the royal couple, would not have extended to that length, had it not been widened by an extraordinary excess of dislike which her majesty had imbibed for her royal highness, and which, in some instances, actuated her to the commission of acts by no means compatible with her rank or character as Queen of England.

On her royal highness taking possession of Montague-house, some pecuniary arrangements were effected, by which she received an allowance of 12,000*l.* per annum from the prince, and 5,000*l.* as pin money from the exchequer. In the course of this period, it appears also, that she received

32,000*l.* from the droits of the admiralty, in various grants, which sum was appropriated to the liquidation of debts, which her royal highness had unavoidably contracted.

A separate establishment having been formed for the Princess Charlotte at Shrewsbury-house, the Princess of Wales was deprived of one of the chief sources of her enjoyment; for although no positive restriction was placed upon the visits of the mother, to her beloved child, yet the separation was attended with those painful feelings which those only can justly appreciate, who are obliged to live, as it were, in a state of estrangement from those, in whom every affection of the heart is centered.

The society of her royal highness might be justly said to consist of a very few individuals: amongst those were Lord Hood, Lord Aurelius Beauclerc, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, Mr. Canning, and a Mr. Campe, an intelligent German, who was then preparing his *Travels in England* for the press. In this work we find the following description of the manner in which her royal highness passed her time at Blackheath:—

"When," says this enlightened foreigner, "I was at the Princess of Wales's residence at Blackheath, she had the condescension to conduct me to a garden at some distance, which she had principally laid out herself, and which she superintended in such a complete sense of the word, that no person presumed to do any thing in it but

what she herself directed. I admired the beautiful order, and the careful cultivation of even the most insignificant spot; the judicious combination of the useful with the agreeable, which appeared so delightful wherever I cast my eyes. I was charmed with the neat borders of flowers, between which we passed, and was doubly rejoiced to find them so small; because, as the princess remarked too much room ought not to be taken from the useful vegetables, merely for the purpose of pleasing the eye. I was transported with the elegance, taste, and convenience displayed in the pavilion, in which the dignified owner, who furnished the plan, and the directions for every part of it, had solved the problem, how a building of but two floors, on a surface of about eighteen feet square, could be constructed and arranged in such a manner that a small family capable of limiting its desires, might find in it a habitation equally beautiful, tasteful, and commodious. The manner in which this had been effected, deserves, in my opinion, the notice and admiration of professed architects.

" After my royal guide had shewn me her favourite spot, a small and extremely simple seat, placed in the corner of the garden, overshadowed by two or three honeysuckles, the branches of which are bent in such a manner that one of the finest prospects which this place commands, opens to the view as through a window, she invited me to survey the most important part of her grounds.

I manifested some surprise, conceiving that I had seen every thing. The lovely princess smiled, and conducted me to a considerable tract, covered with vegetables, comprising the farther and largest portion of this remarkable garden. 'This,' said she, 'is my principal concern. Here I endeavour to acquire the honourable name of a farmer, and that as you see, not merely in jest. The vegetables which I raise here in considerable quantity, are carried to town and sold. The produce amounts annually to a handsome sum.'

"It may probably be guessed to what purpose this handsome sum was applied. If not, I will even run the risk of incurring her anger, by revealing the secret of the active and benevolent life which the *future queen of the first and most powerful nation in the world*, here led in a simple country-house, which was in fact not so large as that of a petty German baron. Indeed, this accomplished princess led in this modest mansion, a life so useful, so active, so virtuous, that I might challenge the most celebrated philosopher, in a like situation, to surpass her. She had no court, no officers of state, no chamberlains, no maids of honour, *&c.* because she had no occasion for them here; but she was occasionally visited by a couple of female friends, who are not so merely in name, the very intelligent and worthy Mrs. Fitzgerald and her amiable daughter. Her whole long forenoon, that is, from six in the morning till seven in the evening, is devoted to business,

to reading and writing, to the cultivation of different arts; for instance, music, painting, embroidery, modelling in clay, gardening, and to—education.

"My last word may occasion great astonishment, because it is so extremely unusual to see persons of princely rank occupy themselves with an employment which cannot have any charms for persons who have a taste only for the pleasures and amusements of a court. But this astonishment may be increased, when it is added, that it is not the young and hopeful princess her *daughter*, whom she educated, but eight or nine *poor* orphan children, to whom she had the condescension to supply the place of a mother. Her own was the child of the state; and, according to the constitution of the country, must not, alas! be educated by herself. These poor children, on the other hand, were boarded by her with honest people in the neighbourhood; she herself not only directed every thing relative to their education and instruction, but sent every day to converse with them, and thus contributed towards the formation of their infant minds. Never while I live shall I forget the charming, the affecting scene which I had the happiness of witnessing, when the princess was pleased to introduce me to her little foster children. We were sitting at table; the princess and her friends were at breakfast, but I, in the German fashion, was taking my dinner. The children appeared clothed in the

cleanest, but, at the same time, in the simplest manner, just as the children of country people are in general dressed. They seemed perfectly ignorant of the high rank of their foster mother, or rather not to comprehend it. The sight of a stranger somewhat abashed them; but their bashfulness soon wore off, and they appeared to be perfectly at home. Their dignified benefactress conversed with them in a lively, jocose, and truly maternal manner. She called to her, first one, then another, and another, and among the rest a little boy, five or six years old, who had a sore upon his face. Many a parent, of too delicate nerves, would not have been able to look at her own child in this state, without an unpleasant sensation. Not so the royal mother of these orphans. She called the boy to her, gave him a biscuit, looked at his face to see whether it had got any better, and manifested no repugnance when the grateful infant pressed her hand to his bosom; what this wise, royal instructress said to me on this occasion, is too deeply impressed upon my memory to be erased: 'People find fault with me,' said she, 'for not doing more for these children, after I have even taken them under my care: I ought, in their opinion, to provide them with more elegant and costly clothes, to keep masters of every kind for them; that they may at once make a figure as persons of refined education. However, I only laugh at their censure, for I know what I am about. It is not my inten-

tion to raise these children into a rank superior to that in which they are placed; in that rank I mean them to remain, and to become useful, virtuous, and happy members of society. The boys are destined to become expert seamen, and the girls skilful, sensible, industrious, housewives—nothing more. I have them instructed in all that is really serviceable for either of these destinations; but every thing else is totally excluded from the plan of education which I have laid down for them. Those who are acquainted with the splendour of the higher classes, and have reflected upon it, will beware of snatching children from the more happy condition of inferior rank, for the purpose of raising them into the former, in despite of Providence and natural destination.'

"Such was the wise and philanthropic manner in which this amiable princess, in the flower of her age, passed one day after another. Towards evening, a very small company, of not more than three or four persons, assembled at her house to dine with her; and fortunately, ceremony did not oblige her to pay regard in her selection to any other recommendation than merit. It was only on court-days, when the royal family assembled, that she went to town or to Windsor, to complete the dignified circle, of which she was such a distinguished ornament. To the theatres, and other places of amusement of the fashionable world, her royal highness was a stranger. Since she came to England she had only been twice to the

play, and that was soon after her arrival. This, which of itself was an extraordinary circumstance, will be considered a great sacrifice by those who know the uncommon love and respect which were cherished by people of all ranks for their future queen, and consequently need not be told that she renounced a triumph as often as she withdrew from public view.

"She devoted one day in the week to her own daughter, the Princess Charlotte, who came to see her, and spent the day with her. There was nothing to prevent her from enjoying this gratification oftener, for the child was to be brought to her whenever she pleased. For wise reasons, however, she denied herself and her daughter the more frequent repetition of a pleasure, of which both of them every day were ardently desirous. 'If,' said she, 'I were to have the child with me every day, I should be obliged sometimes to speak to her in a tone of displeasure, and even of severity. She would then have less affection for me, and what I said to her would make less impression upon her heart. As it is, we remain, in some measure, new to each other; at each of her visits I have occasion to shew her love and tenderness; and the consequence is, that the child is attached to me with all her soul, and not a word I say to her fails of producing the desired effect.'

"I was myself an eye-witness to the truth of this. Such tender attachment and such fervent love, as this child, only seven years old, mani-

fested to her royal mother, was assuredly seldom seen in persons of that rank. Her eyes were necessarily fixed on the beauteous countenance of her tender mother: and what eyes! Never in a child of her age have I beheld eyes so expressive, so soft, so penetrating. The first time she cast them on me, she seemed as though she would penetrate my soul. Neither her dress nor her behaviour afforded the least room to suspect her high destination; the former was so simple, and the latter so natural and unaffected, that a stranger would scarcely take her for the heiress of a throne. In every dress, and in every place, however, the attentive observer would easily discover her to be an extraordinary child. The royal artist, her mother, has made a model of her, and of several other persons who are dear to her, in clay, and afterwards taken from them plaster casts, which are most perfect resemblances. In acquiring that art, this accomplished princess preserved a manner of her own. Instead of working as usual, a long time from models, she merely procured instruction in the use of the tools; her fancy then formed, from the detached traits of a poem, the representation of an imaginary person, and she began to compose the figure without any copy. The subject of her first essay was the Leonora of Bürger's celebrated ballad; her second was the head of an old lord, whose name I have forgotten; and the third was her daughter the Princess Charlotte.

"This reminds me of another piece of work by the hand of this royal artist, which I had likewise an opportunity of inspecting, and which appeared to me equally beautiful and ingenious. In passing through her work-room (where, besides a choice collection of books and all kinds of implements of the arts, there was a large table covered with papers, writings, drawings, and books) she took the trouble to direct my attention to a very handsome table, and asked me what I conceived it to be. Without a moment's hesitation I declared it was inlaid, or, as it is called, Mosaic work; and that it was an excellent specimen of the art. She smiled, and said, that could not be, as she, who knew nothing of Mosaic work, had made it herself, and in a few hours. It is nothing more, added her royal highness, than a square of ground glass, on which I have fastened with gum different kinds of natural flowers, which were first carefully dried and pressed, and then turned the glass with the smooth side uppermost to produce the delusion by which you were just now deceived. The whole art, or rather the trifling degree of trouble, which this easy operation requires, consists merely in the choice of the situation which must be given to each flower, so that one may be properly connected with the other, and that as small a vacancy as possible may remain between them. As the glass would not, however, be completely covered, I suppose (for unluckily I forgot to inquire) that the intervals are

stained with colours, so as to give them the appearance of stone.

"By means of this pleasing artifice she had made a Chinese lamp for one of her other apartments, which, like those of coloured glass, or thin alabaster, diffused a very mild light.

"A second table in her work-room, which appeared to be composed of every possible species of marble, was, what I should never have guessed—nothing more than a square of ground glass, which, on the other side, was painted in such a manner, that the spectator could not help taking the whole for specimens of all the species of marble joined together and inlaid. In each corner a small copper plate of some antique figures was stuck; of course, on the reverse of the square, which completed the deception."

On taking a general view of the different periods in the life of her royal highness, which were distinguished by any particular event, we cannot refrain from referring to the year 1801, in which the foundation was laid for that diabolical plot, which had for its aim not only to blast her character for ever, but to bring her with ignominy to the scaffold.

The fortunate issue of the war in Egypt, and the short cessation of hostilities in Europe, had given a respite to the British army, and enabled the officers to return to their native country. Amongst the latter was Sir John Douglas, who, for the purpose of being able to attend his professional

duties at Chatham, took a house at Charlton, at no considerable distance from that occupied by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. It was early in the year 1801, that the lady of Sir John Douglas was brought to bed of a daughter, and at the close of it, in the month of November, the beauty of the child having been reported to her royal highness, she determined to convince herself of it by ocular demonstration. In this step, she was solely actuated by that warm attachment which her royal highness always displayed for children, without any regard to their rank or station in life, for the child of the peasant received her caresses with the same affection as that of the nobleman. The manner in which her royal highness introduced herself to Lady Douglas, is described by her in the following terms:

"As I was sitting in my parlour, which commanded a view of the Heath, I saw to my surprise, the Princess of Wales, elegantly dressed in a lilac satin pelisse, primrose-coloured half boots, and a small lilac travelling cap, fured with sable, and a lady pacing up and down before the house, and sometimes stopping, as if desirous of opening the gate in the iron railing, to come in. At first I had no conception her royal highness really wished to come in, but must have mistaken the house for another person's, for I had never been made known to her, and I did not know that she knew where I lived. I stood at the window looking at her, and as she looked very

much, from respect, I curtesied, (as I understood was customary,) to my astonishment she returned my curtesy by a familiar nod, and stopped. Old Lady Stuart, a West-India lady, who lived in my immediate neighbourhood, and who was in the habit of coming in to see me, was in the room, and said, 'You should go out, her royal highness wants to come in out of the snow.' Upon this I went out, and she came immediately to me and said, 'I believe you are Lady Douglas, and you have a very beautiful child; I should like to see it.' I answered, that I was Lady Douglas. Her royal highness then said, 'I should like of all things to see your little child.' I answered, that I was very sorry I could not have the honour of presenting my little girl to her, as I and my family were spending the cold weather in town, and I was only come to spend an hour or two upon the Heath. I held open the gate, and the Princess of Wales, and her lady, Miss Heyman, I believe, walked in and sat down, and stayed above an hour, laughing very much at Lady Stuart, who being a singular character, talked all kind of nonsense."

Some star of the most baneful and malignant nature must have ruled over the hour, in which her royal highness was induced to tread over the threshold of a dwelling, in which a fiend, possessing the female form, resided; and who, working upon the generous and unsuspecting nature of its victim, put on the Judas Iscariot smile of affection

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The basis of these proceedings rests upon rather a singular and an eccentric act which her royal highness committed in the adoption of a child of the name of Austin, born of parents of the most obscure origin, and which was attended with some circumstances of that apparently mysterious nature, which gave Curiosity ample food to feed upon, and Calumny to gorge itself to satiety.

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herself and her two children; but this, however, she again positively refused to do, on the grounds before stated.

Mrs. Austin having again become pregnant, and being within two months of her delivery, she was desirous of obtaining a letter of recommendation to be again admitted into the Brownlow-street hospital. Being acquainted with a poor woman of the name of Lasley, who used to obtain the broken meat, *&c.*, from Montague-house, the residence of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, Mrs. Austin requested Mrs. Lasley to endeavour to procure a letter of recommendation from some of the ladies in attendance, for admittance into the hospital. She made application, but was not successful. Fearing, however, that Mrs. Austin would suspect that she had not applied for her, she proposed that Mrs. Austin should accompany her to Montague-house. To this Mrs. Austin agreed, and on the Monday following they kept the appointment; Mrs. Austin remaining on the Heath, while her companion went into the house.

Mrs. Lasley inquired for Mr. Stikeman, the page, thinking him the most likely person to succeed with the ladies; but he not being in the house at the time, they returned. Meeting Mr Stikeman, however, as they were crossing the Heath, Mrs. Lasley spoke to him, and said, "This is the poor woman for whom I solicited a letter of recommendation into the hospital." Mr.

Stikeman observed, he was very sorry he could not obtain one for her; but said the ladies would give her a letter to be attended at home. Mrs. Austin told him she had, once before, lain in at Brownlow-street hospital, and would like to go there if she could, it not being so convenient for her to lay in at home. He said he should be happy to serve her if he could, but in this case he could not, as he had already asked the ladies the question.

Being unsuccessful in procuring a letter from Montague-house, she applied to a friend in town of the name of Wilson, who obtained one for her, from Mr. Hoare, the banker, in Fleet-street; and was admitted into the hospital, on Sunday the 11th of July, 1802. On this day, Mrs. Austin was delivered of a son, who was baptized at the house of the Institution, on the 15th of the same month, and named William.

A few days after its birth, the child was observed to have a mark of red wine on its right hand, completely encircling the thumb; but this mark has since gradually disappeared, and is not at present discernible.

Austin being still out of employ, and his wife hearing that several persons had made successful application to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to procure a reinstatement in his majesty's Dock-yard, she was advised to try this expedient on behalf of her husband. Mrs. Austin proposed to him to write a petition, and

"This reminds me of another piece of work by the hand of this royal artist, which I had likewise an opportunity of inspecting, and which appeared to me equally beautiful and ingenious. In passing through her work-room (where, besides a choice collection of books and all kinds of implements of the arts, there was a large table covered with papers, writings, drawings, and books) she took the trouble to direct my attention to a very handsome table, and asked me what I conceived it to be. Without a moment's hesitation I declared it was inlaid, or, as it is called, Mosaic work; and that it was an excellent specimen of the art. She smiled, and said, that could not be, as she, who knew nothing of Mosaic work, had made it herself, and in a few hours. It is nothing more, added her royal highness, than a square of ground glass, on which I have fastened with gum different kinds of natural flowers, which were first carefully dried and pressed, and then turned the glass with the smooth side uppermost to produce the delusion by which you were just now deceived. The whole art, or rather the trifling degree of trouble, which this easy operation requires, consists merely in the choice of the situation which must be given to each flower, so that one may be properly connected with the other, and that as small a vacancy as possible may remain between them. As the glass would not, however, be completely covered, I suppose (for unluckily I forgot to inquire) that the intervals are

if it were younger; he answered, "Ah, true." He then turned up the child's clothes and looked at its legs, saying, "It's a fine child, give it to me." He accordingly took the child into the house, and as he went along the passage, danced it up and down, talking to it.

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She instantly gave the child to a Mrs. Davis, who lived in the next room, to dress it, while she changed her own apparel. Mrs. Austin made all possible haste, and arrived at Montague-house about two o'clock. In her way thither, she met her husband, who accompanied her, and assisted in carrying the child. He remained at the door, and Mrs. Austin entered and inquired for Mr. Stikeman, who being called from the steward's room, came to her—went up the staircase, and desired her to follow him. Mr. Stikeman then shewed her into a room, called the blue-room, obtained some refreshment for her and the child, and told her that she was now to be introduced to her royal highness, who was then taking a walk, but that she would soon return. Mrs. Austin waited for about two hours. During this time, she felt much agitated, fearing that she should not conduct herself with propriety in her royal highness's presence. These facts she communicated to Mr. Stikeman who told her she had nothing to apprehend; "that her royal highness was a very affable, good sort of a lady, and that she would say all for her."

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she would take it to her royal highness, and endeavour to get him replaced in his former situation. Austin, however, hesitated, for some time, to embrace his wife's offer, conceiving that the attempt would be quite fruitless. At length, to satisfy Mrs. Austin, he consented to the measure. His wife accordingly took the petition, and went with the child (William) in her arms, on Saturday the 23d of October, 1802, to Montague-house. Here she inquired for Mr. Stikeman, whom she had seen but once only before, when she applied for a letter of recommendation to the Brownlow-street hospital.

Mr. Stikeman appearing, she requested him to present the petition, stating that the object of it was to get her husband reinstated in the Dock-yard, from whence he had been lately discharged, with many others. He said, he was "denied doing such things; having applications of a similar nature, almost daily." She urged her great distress, telling him she had another child at home, and no prospect of any provision for them, her husband being quite destitute of employment. He then gave her a shilling, took the petition and put it into his pocket, observed *she had a fine child in her arms, and asked how old it was;* Mrs. Austin answered, about three months. Mr. Stikeman replied, *if it had been about a fortnight old, he could have got it taken care of for her;* she observed to him that she thought it a better age to be taken from the mother, than

if it were younger; he answered, "Ah, true." He then turned up the child's clothes and looked at its legs, saying, "It's a fine child, give it to me." He accordingly took the child into the house, and as he went along the passage, danced it up and down, talking to it.

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When she arrived, she inquired for Mr. Stikeman, who came out to her, and exclaimed, "Bless me! I did not expect to see you such a morning as this;" He now inquired for her husband; she told him, that he was from home, seeking employment. He then asked if she could come the next morning, and bring her husband with her, as he particularly wished to see him; and observed, if they were not at Montague-house by ten or eleven o'clock, he would call on them at Deptford, at twelve. He then gave her some broken meat, and she went away. Austin and his wife lived at this time, at No. 7, Deptford, New-row, with a person of the name of Bearblock, a milkman.

When she reached her home, supposing that something advantageous was intended to be done for them, she resolved to go immediately to London, in quest of her husband; whom, after a considerable time spent in the search, she found at a relation's. Mrs. Austin then related to her husband the success she had met with at Montague-house, and told him that Mr. Stikeman wished very particularly to see him; and that he had better return with her by the coach. To this he readily consented, being too unwell to fulfil the engagement into which he had entered.

Austin and his wife arrived at Deptford about eleven o'clock that night. In consequence of his disorder increasing, Austin was so ill, that he found himself incapable of rising in the morning,

and was, of course, prevented from going to Montague-house. At twelve o'clock, however, Mr. Stikeman called on them, and made particular inquiries into their circumstances and character; promising to do what he could for them, in the way of getting the child taken care of.

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she was getting into her carriage. It happened however, that the day was very unfavourable, raining almost incessantly from morning till night; and Mrs. Austin was prevented from going. This circumstance rendered her peculiarly uneasy, and she hesitated whether (as she had been unable to attend the appointment) she should go any more to Montague-house, until she received further instructions.

On the next day, being the 6th of November, about one o'clock, Mr. Stikeman came to Deptford to inquire the reason of her not bringing the child according to appointment. She urged the unfavourable state of the weather as the only cause of her absence; and expressed the sorrow she felt on the occasion; but said, that she was fearful of endangering her own and the child's health, by going so far (being about two miles) in a pouring rain.

Mr. Stikeman appeared much displeased, and at last became quite angry; telling her she must leave what she was about immediately, dress herself and the child, and hasten, with all possible speed, to Montague-house, as the princess was anxious to see it immediately;—that when she came she must inquire for him,—and not speak to any of the servants, or take the least notice of the circumstance to any person whatever. He farther observed, that he could ill spare the time to call upon her, and that he must return without delay; or he should be too late for dinner.

She instantly gave the child to a Mrs. Davis, who lived in the next room, to dress it, while she changed her own apparel. Mrs. Austin made all possible haste, and arrived at Montague-house about two o'clock. In her way thither, she met her husband, who accompanied her, and assisted in carrying the child. He remained at the door, and Mrs. Austin entered and inquired for Mr. Stikeman, who being called from the steward's room, came to her—went up the staircase, and desired her to follow him. Mr. Stikeman then shewed her into a room, called the blue-room, obtained some refreshment for her and the child, and told her that she was now to be introduced to her royal highness, who was then taking a walk, but that she would soon return. Mrs. Austin waited for about two hours. During this time, she felt much agitated, fearing that she should not conduct herself with propriety in her royal highness's presence. These facts she communicated to Mr. Stikeman who told her she had nothing to apprehend; "that her royal highness was a very affable, good sort of a lady, and that she would say all for her."

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The lady then returned and asked her whether she thought she could make up her mind to part from the child, and leave it with her royal highness, observing "what a fortunate woman she would be to have her child taken under the protection of so illustrious a personage, and that the child would, in all respects, *be brought up and treated as a young prince;* and if he should behave properly as he grew up, what an excellent thing it would be for him." Mrs. Austin replied, that she thought she could part from it to such a person as her royal highness, rather than keep it, and suffer it to want. The lady then gave her a *pound note,* and desired her to go into the coffee-room, and get some arrow-root and other necessaries, for the purpose of weaning the child; as she then suckled it. Mrs. Lloyd, the woman who super-

intended the coffee-room, was directed by Mr. Stikeman, to give the arrow-root to her, with instructions how to mix it; and Mrs. Austin was ordered to begin weaning the child that night, but if the weaning appeared to hurt the child, she was not to persevere, but to inform them.

She then went with Mr. Stikeman into the coffee-room, where he ordered Mrs. Lloyd to give her the necessary articles. After she had received them, Mr. Stikeman accompanied her out of the house, between four and five o'clock. As they were going out, a carriage stood at the front door, and a lady who came from the house was getting into it. Mr. Stikeman accompanied her to the carriage-door, and said to the lady, "This is the little boy which her royal highness is going to take." "Oh, is it," she replied, "and what is his name?" He answered William; "why, that is the very name to which her royal highness is so partial." Who this lady was she does not know. The carriage driving off, they proceeded, and were joined by Austin, who had waited all the time on the Heath. Mr. Stikeman walked some distance with them, conversing very freely as they walked along; and her husband spoke to him of his afflicted state of body. Mrs. Austin said, "I believe her royal highness is going to take the child," to which Mr. Stikeman observed, "Yes, I believe she will;" but requested them not to say any thing about it to any person for the present, as they could not be certain that this

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would be the case. She then asked him what answer she should give to any person who might inquire about it; he replied, "*Say nothing for the present, but when the child is finally left with her royal highness, tell the truth, and say that she has taken the child under her protection.*" Mr. Stikeman then left them, and returned, charging her to inform him how the child took its weaning, or if she could not do this, he promised to call on them; ordered her to come when she wanted more arrow-root, and wished them a good night.

Mrs. Austin went again to Montague-house on the Thursday following, and saw Mr. Stikeman. He said he expected her before, as they were anxious to know how the child took its weaning. Mr. Stikeman called at Deptford, twice afterwards, in the course of that week, and observed, that the child appeared to be doing very well, and looked quite as healthy as when she suckled it.

Mrs. Austin called at Montague-house again on the Sunday morning, and inquired for Mr. Stikeman, who was not then stirring; but she waited at the door till he came. He gave her more arrow-root, and desired her to wait, and he would inquire of the ladies on what day her royal highness would want the child. He soon returned, and said, that she must bring it on the next day, (Monday the 15th of November) by eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and observed, that he had asked for a day or two more for her, but her royal high-

ness said, "No: she could not wait any longer, and must have him by that time."

On Monday, about eleven o'clock, Mrs. Austin left home, calling on a Mrs. Jones in Butt-lane, an acquaintance, that she might take leave of the child before she finally parted from it. In her way to Montague-house, she met Mr. Stikeman, near the sign of the Green-Man, talking to a gentleman. When he saw her he crossed over the way to her, and said she was rather behind her time; that the ladies had been looking out for her to see which way she would come; and that the housemaid had been twice to the gate looking for her. He said he was going to Greenwich to purchase a night-lamp for the child.—Observing her cry, he inquired the cause of her grief; she told him they were the mingled tears of joy and grief at parting from her child. He said, "*Make haste up, and make free and ask for any thing you want, and the ladies will not think the worse of you by seeing you in trouble at parting from your child!*" He told her when she arrived at Montague-house to ask for Miss Sander, which she immediately did.

Mary Wilson shewed her into Miss Sander's room, which was on the same floor with and next to her royal highness's sleeping-room. Miss Sander was not in the room at the time, but Mary Wilson went to inform her of Mrs. Austin's arrival. Miss Sander came from her royal highness's room, and seeing her much distressed at parting from the

infant, she said, "*It is still your option whether to leave it or not with her royal highness.*" Mrs. Austin replied, "*She would certainly let her royal highness have it, as she knew it would be taken care of.*" Miss Sander then took the child, saying, "Take a kiss of your mother, my dear, at parting," and conveyed it to her royal highness.—Mrs. Austin waited for a considerable time before Miss Sander returned, who (as she was told) was dressing the child; new clothes having been provided for it by her royal highness's orders. Miss Sander then brought the clothes which the child wore, when it was brought, even to the very pins. She now signified to Miss Sander a desire to see the child once more before she finally left it, but this favour was denied her.

Mrs. Austin was now desired to go into the coffee-room, and get some refreshment, where she waited Mr. Stikeman's return from Greenwich. During her stay in the coffee-room, Mrs. Lloyd said to her with apparent displeasure, "I don't suppose the child will be kept in the house; I don't know what we shall do with it here; we have enough to do to wait on her royal highness." It appeared evident that much confusion prevailed among the servants on this occasion. Mrs. Austin then asked her where she thought the child would be placed. Mrs. Lloyd said, she supposed "it would be put across the Heath, *where her royal highness had some other children at nurse*, under the care of the steward's wife." This unlooked-for

and unwelcome information added considerably to her distress, as she understood that the child was to be brought up in the house, under the immediate inspection of her royal highness. Just at this moment, her royal highness's bell rang, and the footman came in for some arrow-root, which Mrs. Lloyd mixed, and he took it with him.

By this time Mr. Stikeman had returned from Greenwich, and Mrs. Austin immediately told him what Mrs. Lloyd had said respecting the child's being put out of the house. He desired her to pay no attention to any thing that was said by any of the servants, as they knew nothing about the business; and requested her when she came again, to go into the steward's room.

She also now stated to him how they were situated; that her husband was ill with the rheumatism; that they had nothing to subsist upon; and that she thought of going into service. This, however, Mr. Stikeman appeared not to approve, saying, that she would by that means be giving up her home, and that he thought she had better wait, and see what might turn up; she then took her leave of them, and departed.

The next day Mr. Stikeman came to Deptford, to inform Mrs. Austin that the child was very well; that her royal highness had done every thing for it herself; and that she appeared to be very fond of it. She asked him when it would be agreeable for her to see her child; and he said

if she would come on Wednesday evening, he would then endeavour to procure an interview for her. She accordingly went at the time appointed, but was informed by Mr. Stikeman, that her royal highness was engaged with the child, that she did not like to be disturbed, and that she must come some other time.

Mrs. Austin then said, that several persons at Deptford had been telling her that she would never see the child again; that they blamed her very much for parting from it, saying they would not let the king have a child of theirs, and many other observations of the like nature, which contributed to render her very uneasy. Mr. Stikeman then observed, "If you will come with me, I will satisfy you, by shewing you the child with her royal highness." He then took her to the door of the princess's room, and desired her to look through the keyhole; and having obeyed Mr. Stikeman's directions, she distinctly observed her royal highness passing to and fro, nursing the child and chatting to it. Mrs. Austin was now better satisfied. Mr. Stikeman desired her to come again on Saturday evening, when he promised that she should see the child.

Mrs. Austin accordingly went to Montague-house on the day appointed, and saw Mary Wilson, who told her that the child was asleep, and that her royal highness was taking a walk Upon her royal highness's return, Mrs. Austin was ordered up into the blue-room, where the

princess was, with the child laying in her lap; and she ran and kissed the child as he lay. Her royal highness said it had been a very good child; but that it had a little cough, and sucked its thumb; but that she had consulted a physician, and he was of opinion that its sucking its thumb would not hurt him. Mrs. Austin observed some phials there, and on the label was written, "*For the infant at Montague-bower.*" Her royal highness desired her to come again on Sunday morning, and she should nurse the child. This she did, and waited a considerable time, the child not being dressed. She was, at length, introduced into Miss Sander's room, where the princess was, who herself gave her the child. Here Mrs. Austin remained, nursing the child; her royal highness being present, during the whole of the time, with Miss Sander.

No particular conversation took place at this meeting. Mrs. Austin having told the princess that her little boy Samuel was ill at home, her royal highness inquired the nature of the child's complaint; and she replied that she did not know:—her royal highness said she would send a doctor to see it, and Mr. Edmeades, her royal highness's apothecary called at Deptford, in Mrs. Austin's absence, for this purpose. A person who lived in the next room, told Mr. Edmeades that she was apprehensive that the child had the measles. This information Mr. Edmeades communicated to her royal highness, at which she

appeared displeased, supposing that Mrs. Austin knew the cause of the child's illness, though she forbore to mention it. But her royal highness, desired Mr. Edmeades not to behave harshly to Mrs. Austin, as it was possible that she might not have been aware of the nature of her son's illness at that time.

Mr. Edmeades, however, having called at Deptford to see Mrs. Austin and the child, he began to chide her for not informing her royal highness with the fact. She told him that it was impossible for her to do so, as she was not acquainted with the nature of the child's disorder. Upon farther examination, indeed, it appeared that the measles was not the disorder with which the child was afflicted. Mr. Edmeades then desired her not to say any thing to the princess on the subject of his speaking harshly to her, as he was in the habit of attending her. He also observed that if the child had been ill with the measles, it might have produced very serious consequences, as her royal highness had not, at that time, had the disorder herself.

As William Austin grew up, he was constantly taken about with the princess, and was treated in every respect as a child of her own. Her royal highness, indeed, appeared to be very much attached to the boy.

The name of William Austin will most probably be transmitted to posterity, in connexion with that of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales;

and in regard to his birth, the fears of Englishmen respecting the future succession to these kingdoms, may be set at rest for ever.

It may appear at first sight, that in giving this account of William Austin, we have been anticipating the course of history, but it will be found in some degree necessary to the right understanding of that mass of extraordinary evidence, which was laid before the public respecting her royal highness, and which was intended to divest her of all claim to the rank of consort of the heir-apparent of this kingdom.

The adoption of William Austin, of the impropriety of which, considering the peculiar circumstances in which her royal highness was then placed, there can but be one opinion, formed the principal incident in the famous drama which was then getting up, and in which Sir John and Lady Douglas were to be the principal actors—her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to be the victim, and the catastrophe was to be the extinction of a spurious succession of the house of Brunswick.

A plot of this description could not, however, be got up in a moment—and it was not until the beginning of November, 1805, that the machinery of the piece was complete; the drama opening with the Duke of Sussex making it known to the Prince of Wales, that Sir John Douglas had communicated to him some circumstances in the conduct of the Princess of Wales—

and further, that it was of the utmost consequence to the honour of his royal highness, and to the security of the royal succession, that they should be made known to him; and still further, that Sir John and his lady were ready to give a full disclosure, if called upon. The Duke of Sussex added, that the Duke of Kent had been made partly acquainted with the matter a twelvemonth before. In consequence of this communication, the prince called on the Duke of Kent to say what had been communicated to him, and why he had for a whole year kept from his knowledge a matter so interesting to the honour of the family.

The Duke of Kent was by no means backward in subscribing to the wishes of his illustrious brother, and the following is the authentic statement which his royal highness gave.

Narrative of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent.

"To introduce the following relation, it is necessary for me to premise, that on entering the Prince of Wales's bed-room, where our interview took place, my brother, after dismissing his attendants, said to me, that some circumstances had come to his knowledge, with respect to a transaction with the Princess of Wales, in which he found that I had been a party concerned; that if he had not placed the most entire reliance on my attach-

ment to *him*, and he was pleased to add, on the well-known uprightness of my character and principles, he should certainly have felt himself in no small degree offended at having learnt the facts alluded to from others, and not in the first instance from me, which he conceived himself every way entitled to expect, but more especially from that footing of confidence on which he had ever treated me through life; but, that being fully satisfied my explanation of the matter would prove, that he was not wrong in the opinion he had formed of the honourable motives that had actuated me in observing a silence with regard to *him* upon the subject, he was then anxiously waiting for me to proceed with a narrative, his wish to hear which, he was sure, he had only to express to ensure my immediate acquiescence with it. The prince then gave me his hand, assuring me he did not feel the smallest degree of displeasure towards me, and proceeded to introduce the subject upon which he required information. When, feeling it a duty I owed to him, to withhold from his knowledge no part of the circumstances connected with it, that I could bring back to my recollection, I related the facts to him, as nearly as I can remember, in the following words:—

'About a twelvemonth since, or thereabouts, (for I cannot speak positively to the exact date,) I received a note from the Princess of Wales, by which she requested me to come over to Blackheath, in order to assist her in arranging a disagreeable matter between her, Sir Sidney Smith, Sir

John and Lady Douglas, the particulars of which she would relate to me when I should call.

'I, in consequence, waited upon her, agreeable to her desire, a day or two after, when she commenced the conversation by telling me, that she supposed I knew she had, at one time, lived with Lady Douglas on a footing of intimacy, but that she had had reason afterwards to repent having made her acquaintance, and was therefore rejoiced when she left Blackheath for Plymouth, as she conceived that circumstance would break off all further communication between her and that lady; that, however, contrary to her expectation, upon the return of Sir John and her from Plymouth to London, Lady Douglas had called and left her name twice or three times, notwithstanding she must have seen that admission was refused her; that having been confirmed in the opinion she had before had occasion to form of her ladyship, by an anonymous letter she had received, in which she was very strongly cautioned against renewing her acquaintance with her, both as being unworthy of her confidence, from the liberties she had allowed herself to take with the princess's name, and the lightness of her character, she had felt herself obliged, as Lady Douglas would not take the hint that her visits were not wished for, to order Miss Vernon to write her a note, specifically telling her, that they would in future be dispensed with; that the consequence of this had been an application through one of her ladies, in the joint names of Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John and Lady Douglas, for an audience, to require an explanation of this, which they considered as an affront; and that being determined not to grant it, or to suffer any unpleasant discussion upon the subject, she entreated me to take whatever steps I might judge best to put an end to the matter, and rid her of all further trouble about it. I stated, in reply, that I had no knowledge of either Sir John or Lady Douglas, and therefore could not in the *first* instance, ad

dress myself to *them;* but that as I had *some* acquaintance with Sir Sidney Smith, and if the princess was not averse to *that* channel, I would try what I could in *that* way effect.

'This being assented to by the princess, I took my leave, and immediately on my return home, wrote a note to Sir Sidney, requesting him to call upon me as soon as he conveniently could, as I had some business to speak to him upon. Sir Sidney, in consequence, called on me (I think) the next day, when I related to him the conversation, as above stated, that I had had with the princess. After hearing all I had to say, he observed, that the princess, in stating to me, that *her* prohibition to Lady Douglas to repeat her visits at Blackheath, had led to an application for an audience of her royal highness, had kept from me the *real* cause why he, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, had made it, as it originated in a most scandalous anonymous letter, of a nature calculated to set on Sir John and him to cut each other's throats, which, from the hand writing and stile, they were both fully convinced was the production of the princess herself. I naturally expressed my sentiments upon such conduct, on the part of the princess, in terms of the strongest animadversion; but, nevertheless, anxious to avoid the shameful eclat which the publication of such a fact to the world must produce; the effect, which its coming to the king's knowledge would probably have on his health, from the delicate state of his nerves, and all the additional misunderstandings between his majesty and the prince, which, I foresaw would inevitably follow, were this fact, which would give the prince so powerful a handle to express his feelings upon the countenance shewn by the king to the princess, at a time when I knew him to be severely wounded by his majesty's visits to Blackheath, on the one hand, and the reports he had received of the princess's conduct on the other, to be brought to light, I felt it my bounden duty, as an honest man, to urge all these arguments with Sir

Sidney Smith in the most forcible manner I was master of; adding also, as a further object, worthy of the most serious consideration, the danger of any appearance of ill-blood in the family at such an eventful crisis, and to press upon his mind the necessity of his using his best endeavours with Sir John Douglas, notwithstanding all the provocation that had been given them, to induce him to let the matter drop, and pursue it no further. Sir Sidney observed to me, that Sir John Douglas was a man, whom, when once he had taken a line, from a principle of honour, it was very difficult to persuade to depart from it; however, as he thought, that if *any* man could prevail upon him, *he* might flatter himself with being the most likely to persuade him, from the weight he had with him; he would immediately try how far he could gain upon him, by making use of those arguments I had brought forward to induce him to drop the matter altogether.

'About four or five days after this, Sir Sidney called upon me again, and informed me, that upon making use with Sir John of these reasons, which I had authorized his stating to be those by which I was actuated in making the request, that he would not press the business further, he had not been able to resist their force; but that the whole extent of promise he had been able to obtain of him, amounted to no more, than that *he* would, *under existing circumstances* remain *quiet*, if left unmolested; for that he would *not* pledge himself not to bring the subject forward *hereafter*, when the same motive might no longer operate to keep him silent. This result I communicated, to the best of my recollection, the following day to the princess, who seemed satisfied with it; and from that day to the present one (Nov. 10, 1805), I never heard the subject named again in any shape, until called upon by the prince, to make known to *him* the circumstances of this transaction, as far as I could bring them to recollection.'

"And now, having fulfilled what the prince wished me to do, to the best of my abilities, in case hereafter any one by whom a narrative of all the circumstances as related by Sir John and Lady Douglas, of whom I was informed by my brother, *subsequent* to our conversation, should imagine that I knew more of them than I have herein stated, hereby spontaneously declare, that what I have written is the whole extent of what I was apprized of; and had the princess thought proper to inform me of what, in the narrative of the information given by Sir John and Lady Douglas, is attended to, I should have felt myself obliged to decline all interference in the business, and to have at the same time stated to her that it would be impossible for me to keep a matter of such importance from the knowledge of the prince.

"EDWARD."

This statement of the Duke of Kent requires a few comments, and we give them with a due regard to his memory, and to absolve it from those imputations, which were so liberally cast upon him on account of the credulous ear which he lent to the venomous slanders of the Douglas's. Sir John Douglas had evidently succeeded in making Sir Sidney Smith believe that the anonymous letter, and the obscene drawing were really the production of her royal highness; and as Sir Sidney Smith also believed Sir John Douglas to

be a man of honour, and above the commission of an unprincipled act, he perhaps represented matters in a stronger light to the Duke of Kent, than the real circumstances warranted, and thereby ultimately induced his royal highness to attach implicit faith to the representations which were made to him; and with that conviction resting upon his mind, he forbore to disclose the facts to the Prince of Wales, from motives at once prudential and considerate. Had, however, the Duke of Kent wholly divested himself of personal relations, and viewed the allegations of the Douglas's in that dispassionate manner, which the nature of the circumstances demanded, it would have appeared to him almost incredible that her royal highness could so far have degraded herself, as to adopt the mode of revenge against Lady Douglas which was imputed to her, and which was in direct opposition to the general tenor of her character. A noble and ingenuous mind revolts at the commission of so mean and despicable an act, as that of writing anonymous letters; but there are circumstances attending the anonymous letter supposed to be received by Lady Douglas, which carry on the very face of them, a positive denial that it was written by her royal highness. The very motive of a person writing anonymously is to close every avenue to detection, but in this instance her royal highness is represented to have been so indiscreet as to have affixed her seal to the very letter, which, if she had been the writer

of it, she would have adopted every means of concealing; she would have altered her usual style of writing—her mode of expression, and with the knowledge of the consequences of detection, she would have studied every method by which the author of the offensive papers could be discovered. These circumstances certainly should have weighed upon the mind of the Duke of Kent; but he was at that time ignorant of the character of Lady Douglas, nor could he conceive it possible, or even probable, that her ladyship herself might be the author of the letters, or that a plot was then in agitation against her royal highness the Princess of Wales, of which these pretended letters were to form the basis of accusation. Lord Cholmondeley, who was perfectly acquainted with the hand writing of the princess, declared the letter not to be in her hand writing, and of the anonymous drawing, with the names of Sir Sidney Smith and Lady Douglas, his lordship said, "This paper appears to me to be written in a disguised hand,—some of the letters remarkably resemble the princess's writing, but because of the disguise, I cannot say whether it be or be not her royal highness's writing."

Lady Douglas, whose pure and unsullied soul could not endure the slightest stain upon her character, was seized with violent fits of indignation on the receipt of the anonymous letters, and with a truly chivalrous notion of honour, peruaded Sir John and Sir Sidney, as valiant

knights, to espouse her cause, and to demand an explanation from the princess. This, however was very properly refused by her royal highness, as it was in part an admission of her guilt; and to free herself from the embarrassment, she makes an appeal to the Duke of Kent, who, with his usual benevolence, endeavoured to throw a veil over the business for ever. Success for a time crowned his generous exertions, but it was not the aim of the parties that it should be buried in oblivion, for in a short time afterwards they represented the business in such a manner to the Duke of Sussex, that he did not consider himself justified in withholding it from the Prince of Wales. This led to the preceding statement of the Duke of Kent; and the Prince of Wales immediately required a statement of the whole transaction from Lady Douglas, which her ladyship gave as follows:

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having judged proper to order me detail to him, as heir-apparent, the whole circumstances of my acquaintance with her royal highness the Princess of Wales, from the day I first spoke with her to the present time, I felt it my duty, as a subject, to comply without hesitation with his royal highness's commands; and I did so, because I conceived, even putting aside the rights of an heir-apparent, his royal highness was justified in informing himself as to the actions of his wife, who, from all the information he had collected, seemed so likely to disturb the tranquillity of the country; and it appeared to me that, in so doing, his royal highness evinced

his earnest regard for the real interest of the country, in endeavouring to prevent such a person from, perhaps, one day placing a spurious heir upon the English throne, and which his royal highness has indeed a right to fear, and communicate to the sovereign, as the Princess of Wales told me, 'If she were discovered in bringing her son into the world, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit of it, for that she had slept two nights in the year she was pregnant in Carlton-house.'

"As an Englishwoman, educated in the highest respectful attachment to the royal family; as the daughter of an English officer, who has all his life received the most gracious marks of approbation and protection from his majesty, and from his royal highness the Prince of Wales; and as the wife of an officer whom our beloved king has honoured with a public mark of his approbation, and who is bound to the royal family by ties of respectful regard and attachment, which nothing can ever break, I feel it my duty to make known the Princess of Wales's sentiments and conduct, now, and whensoever I may be called upon.

"For the information, therefore, of his majesty, and of the heir-apparent, and by the desire of the heir-apparent, I beg leave to state, that Sir John took a house upon Blackheath in the year 1801, because the air was better for him after his Egyptian services, than London, and it was somewhat nearer Chatham, where his military duties occasionally called him. I had a daughter born upon the 17th of February, and we took up our residence there in April, living very happily and quietly; but in the month of November, when the ground was covered with snow, as I was sitting in my parlour, which commanded a view of the Heath, I saw, to my surprise, the Princess of Wales elegantly dressed in a lilac satin pelisse, primrose-coloured half-boots, and a small lilac satin travelling-cap, faced with sable, and a lady, pacing up and down before the house,

and sometimes stopping, as if desirous of opening the gate in the iron-railing to come in. At first I had no conception her royal highness really wished to come in, but must have mistaken the house for another person's, for I had never been made known to her, and I did not know that she knew where I lived. I stood at the window looking at her, and, as she looked very much, from respect curtsied (as I understood was customary); to my astonishment she returned my curtsey by a familiar nod, and stopped. Old Lady Stuart, a West Indian lady, who lived in my immediate neighbourhood, and who was in the habit of coming in to see me, was in the room, and said, 'You should go out, her royal highness wants to come in out of the snow.' Upon this I went out, and she came immediately to me and said, 'I believe you are Lady Douglas, and you have a very beautiful child; I should like to see it.' I answered that I was Lady Douglas. Her royal highness then said, I should like of all things to see your little child. 'I answered, that I was very sorry I could not have the honour of presenting my little girl to her, as I and my family were spending the cold weather in town, and I was only come to pass an hour or two upon the Heath. I held open the gate, and the Princess of Wales and her lady, Miss Heyman (I believe) walked in and sat down, and stayed above an hour, laughing very much at Lady Stuart, who being a singular character, talked all kind of nonsense. After her royal highness had amused herself as long as she pleased, she inquired where Sir John Douglas and Sir Sidney Smith were, and went away, having shook hands with me, and expressed her pleasure at having found me out, and made herself known: I concluded that Sir Sidney Smith had acquainted her royal highness that we resided upon the Heath, as he was just arrived in England, and having been in long habits of friendship with Sir John, was often with us, and told us how kind he should think it if we could let him come to and fro without ceremony, and

let him have an airy room appropriated to himself, as he was always ill in town, and from being asthmatic, suffered extremely when the weather was foggy in town. Sir John gave him that hospitable reception he was in the habit of doing by all his old friends, (for I understand they have been known to each other more than twenty years), and he introduced him to me as a person, to whom he wished my friendly attention to be paid; as I had never seen Sir Sidney Smith in my life, until this period, when he became, as it were a part of the family. When I returned to town, I told Sir John Douglas the circumstance of the princess having visited me; and a few days after this, we received a note from Mrs. Lisle (who was in waiting) commanding us to dine at Montague-house. We went, and there were several persons at the dinner. I remember Lord and Lady Dartmouth, and I think Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, &c. &c. From this time the princess made me frequent visits, always attended by her ladies, or Mrs. Sander (her maid). When Sander came, she was sent back, or put in another room; but when any of her ladies were with her, we always sat together. Her royal highness was never attended by any livery servants, but she always walked about Blackheath and the neighbourhood only with her female attendants. In a short time, the princess became so extravagantly fond of me, that, however flattering it might be, it certainly was very troublesome. Leaving her attendants below, she would push past my servant, and run up stairs into my bedchamber, kiss me, take me in her arms, and tell me I was beautiful, saying she had never loved any woman so much; that she would regulate my dress, for she delighted in setting off a pretty woman; and such high-flown compliments that women are never used to pay to each other. I used to beg her royal highness not to feed my self-love, as we had all enough of that, without encouraging one another. She would then stop me, and enumerate all my

good points I had, saying she was determined to teach me to set them off. She would exclaim, Oh! believe me, you are quite beautiful, different from almost any English woman; your arms are fine beyond imagination, your bust is very good, and your eyes, Oh, I never saw such eyes—all other women who have dark eyes look fierce, but yours (my dear Lady Douglas) are nothing but softness and sweetness, and yet quite dark. In this manner she went on perpetually, even before strangers. I remember when I was one morning at her house, with her royal highness, Mrs. Harcourt, and her ladies, the Duke of Kent came to take leave before his royal highness went to Gibraltar. When we were sitting at table, the princess introduced me, and said—your royal highness must look at her eyes; but now she has disguised herself in a large hat, you cannot see how handsome she is. The Duke of Kent was very polite and obliging, for he continued to talk with Mrs. Harcourt, and took little notice, for which I felt much obliged; but she persisted, and said—take off your hat. I did not do it, and she took it off; but his royal highness, I suppose, conceiving it could not be very pleasant to me, took little notice, and talked of something else.

"Whenever the princess visited us, either Sir John, or I, returned home with her and her party quite to the door; and if he were out, I went with her royal highness, and took my footman; for we soon saw that her royal highness was a very singular and a very indiscreet woman, and we resolved to be always very careful and guarded with her; and when she visited us, if any visitor whosoever came to our house, they were put into another room, and they could not see the princess, or be in her society, unless she positively desired it. However her royal highness forgot her high station (and she was always forgetting it,) we trust, and hope, and feel satisfied, we never for a moment lost sight of her being the wife of the heir apparent.

"We passed our time as her royal highness chose when together, and the usual amusements were—playing French proverbs, in which the princess always cast the parts, and played; musical magic, forfeits of all kinds; sometimes dancing; and in this manner, either the princess and her ladies with me, or we at Montague-house, we passed our time. Twice, after spending the morning with me, she remained without giving me any previous notice, and would dine with us—and thus ended the year 1801.

"In the month of February, before Miss Garth was to come into waiting in March 1802, the princess, in one of her morning visits, after she had sent Sander home, said, 'My dear Lady Douglas, I am come to see you this morning to ask a great favour of you, which I hope you will grant me.' 'I told her I was sure she could not make any unworthy request, and that I would only say, I should have great pleasure in doing any thing to oblige her, but I was really at a loss to guess how I possibly could have it in my power to grant her a favour.' Her royal highness replied, 'what I have to ask is for you to come and spend a fortnight with me: you shall not be separated from Sir John, for he may be with you whenever he pleases, and bring your little girl and maid. I mean you to come to the Round Tower, where there is a complete suite of rooms for a lady and her servant. When Mrs. Lisle was in waiting, and hurt her foot, she resided there; Miss Heyman always was there, and Lord and Lady Lavington have slept there. When I have any married people visiting me, it is better than their being in the house, and we are only separated by a small garden. I dislike Miss Garth, and she hates to be with me, more than what her duty demands, and I don't wish to trouble any of my ladies out of their turn. I shall require you, as lady in waiting, to attend me in my walks; and when I drive out; write my notes and letters for me, and be in the way to speak to any one who may come on

business. I seldom appear until about three o'clock, and you may go home before I want you after breakfast every day.' I replied, that being a married woman, I could not promise for myself, and, as Sir John was much out of health, I should not like to leave him; but he was always so kind and good-natured to me, that I dare venture to say he would allow me if he could; and when he came home I asked him if I should go. Sir John agreed to the princess's desire, and I took the waiting. During my stay I attended her royal highness to the play and the opera I think twice, and also to dine at Lord Dartmouth's and Mr. Windham's. At Mr. Windham's in the evening, while one of the ladies was at the harpsichord, the princess complained of being very warm, and called out for ale, which by a mistake in the language, she always calls *oil*. Mrs. Windham was perfectly at a loss to comprehend her wishes, and came to me for an explanation. I told her I believed she meant ale. Mrs. Windham said she had none in the house; was it any particular kind she required? I told her I believed not; that when the princess thought proper to visit me, she always wanted it, and I gave her what I had, or could procure for her upon Blackheath. We could not always suddenly obtain what was wished. Mrs. Windham then proposed to have some sent for, and did so; it was brought, and the princess drank it all.—When at Lord Dartmouth's, his lordship asked me if I was the only lady in waiting, being, I supposed, surprised at my appearing in that situation, when, to his knowledge, I had not known the princess more than four months. I answered, I was at Montague-house, acting as lady in waiting, until Miss Garth was well, as the princess told me she was ill. Lord Dartmouth looked surprised, and said he had not heard of Miss Garth being ill, and was surprised. I was struck with Lord Dartmouth's seeming to doubt of Miss Garth's illness, and after thought upon it. From the dinner we went

at an early hour to the opera, and then returned to Blackheath. During this visit I was greatly surprised at the whole style of the princess of Wales's conversation, which was constantly very loose, and such as I had not been accustomed to hear; such as, in many instances, I have not been able to repeat, even to Sir John, and such, as made me hope I should cease to know her, before my daughter might be old enough to be corrupted by her. I confess I went home hoping and believing she was at times a good deal disordered in her senses, or she never would have gone on as she did. When she came to sup with me in the Tower (which she often did), she would arrive in a long red cloak, a silk handkerchief tied over her head under her chin, and a pair of slippers down at the heels.

"After supper I attended her to the house. I found her a person without education or talents, and without any desire of improving herself. Amongst other things which surprised me while there, was a plan she told me she had in hand: that Prince William of Gloucester liked me, and that she had written to him to tell him a fair lady was in her tower, that she left it to his own heart to find out who it was, but if he was the gallant prince she thought him, he would fly and see. I was amazed at such a contrivance, and said, good God! how could your royal highness do so? I really liked Sir John better than any body, and am quite satisfied and happy. I waited nine years for him, and never would marry any other person. The princess ridiculed this, and said, nonsense, nonsense, my dear friend. In consequence of the princess's note, Prince William actually rode the next morning to the tower, but by good fortune Sir Sidney Smith had previously called and been admitted; and, as we were walking by the house, her royal highness saw the prince coming, went immediately out of sight, and ran and told a servant to say she and I were gone walking, and we immediately walked away to Charlton,

having first, unperceived, seen Prince William ride back again, (of course not very well pleased, and possibly believing I had a hand in his ridiculous adventure). It seems he was angry; for soon after, his royal highness the late duke of Gloucester came and desired to see the princess, and told her, that his son William had represented to him how very free she permitted Sir Sidney Smith to be, and how constantly he was visiting at Montague-house; that it rested with herself to keep her acquaintance at a proper distance, and, as Sir Sidney was a lively, thoughtless man, and had not been accustomed to the society of ladies of her rank, he might forget himself, and she would then have herself to blame—that as a father, and an earnest friend, he came to her, very sorry indeed to trouble her, but he conjured and begged her to recollect how very peculiar her situation was, and how doubly requisite it was she should be more cautious than other people. To end this lecture (as she called it) she rang the bell, and desired Mrs. Cole to fetch me. I went into the drawing-room, where the duke and her royal highness were sitting, and she introduced me as an old friend of Prince William's. His royal highness got up, and looked at me very much, and then said, 'The princess has been talking a great deal about you, and tells me you have *made* one of the most delightful children in the world, and indeed it might well be so, when the mother was so handsome and good-natured looking.' By this time I was so used to these fine speeches, either from the princess, or from her through others, that I was ready to laugh, and I only said, 'We did not talk much about beauty, but my little girl was in good health, and her royal highness was very obliging.' As soon as his royal highness was gone, the princess sent again for me, told me every word he said, and said, 'He is a good man, and therefore I took it as it was meant; but if Prince William had ventured to talk to me himself, I would certainly have boxed

his ears; however, as he is so inquisitive, and watches me, I will cheat him, and throw the dust in his eyes, and make him believe Sir Sidney comes here to see you, and that you and he are the greatest possible friends. I delight of all things in cheating those clever people.' Her speech and intentions made me serious, and my mind was forcibly struck with the great danger there would follow to myself, if she was this kind of person. I begged her not to think of doing such a thing, saying, your royal highness knows it is not so, and although I would do much to oblige you, yet, when my own character is at stake, I must stop. Good God, ma'am, his royal highness would naturally repeat it, and what should I do? Reputation will not bear being sported with. The princess took me by the hand, and said, 'Certainly, my dear Lady Douglas, I know very well it is not so, and therefore it does not signify. I am sure it is not so, *that* I am sure of. I have much too good an opinion of you, and too good an opinion of Sir Sidney Smith. It would be very bad in him, after Sir John's hospitality to him. I know him incapable of such a thing, for I have known him a long time; but still I wonder too in the same house it does not happen.' By this time I was rather vexed, and said, your royal highness and I think quite differently—Sir Sidney Smith comes and goes as he pleases to his room in our house. I really see little of him. He seems a very good-humoured, pleasant man, and I always think one may be upon very friendly terms with men who are friends of one's husbands, without being their humble servants. The princess argued upon this for an hour, said, this is Miss Garth's argument, but she was mistaken, and it was ridiculous. If ever a woman was upon friendly terms with any man, they were sure to become lovers. I said, I shall continue to think as Miss Garth did, and that it depended very much upon the lady. Upon the 29th of March, I left Montague-house, and the princess commanded me to be

sent up to her bed-chamber. I went and found her in bed, and I took Mrs. Vansittart's note in my hand, announcing the news of peace. She desired me to sit down close to the bed, and then taking my hand, she said, 'You see, my dear friend, I have the most complaisant husband in the world—I have no one to control *me*—I see whom I like, I go where I like, I spend what I please, and his royal highness pays for all—Other English husbands plague their wives, but he never plagues me at all, which is certainly being very polite and complaisant, and I am better off than my sister, who was heartily beat every day. How much happier am I than the Duchess of York! She and the duke hate each other, and yet they will be two hypocrites, and live together—that I would never do.—Now I'll shew you a letter wherein the Prince of Wales gives me full leave to follow my own plans.' She then put the letter into my hands, the particulars of which I have mentioned. When I had finished, I appeared affected, and she said, 'You seem to think that a fine thing; now I see nothing in it; but I dare to say that when my beloved had finished it, he fancied it one of the finest pieces of penmanship in the world. I should have been the man, and he the woman, I am a real Brunswick, and do not know what the sensation fear is; but as to him, he lives in eternal warm water, and delights in it, if he can but have his slippers under any old dowager's table, and sit there scribbling notes; that's his whole delight.' She then told me every circumstance relative to her marriage, and that she would be separated, and that she had invited the chancellor very often lately, to try and accomplish it, but they were stupid, and told her it could not be done. It appeared to me that at this time her royal highness's mind was bent upon the accomplishment of this purpose; and it would be found, I think, from Lord Eldon and the others, that she pressed this subject close upon them, whenever they were at Montague-house; for she

told me more than once she had. Her royal highness, before she put the letter by, said, 'I always keep this, for it is ever necessary. I will go into the House of Lords with it myself. The Prince of Wales desires me, in that letter, to choose my own plan of life, and amuse myself as I like; and also, when I lived in Carlton-house, he often asked me why I did not select some particular gentleman for my friend, and was surprised I did not.'—She then added, I am not treated at all as a Princess of Wales ought to be. As to the friendship of the Duke of Gloucester's family, I understand that Prince William would like to marry either my daughter or me, if he could. I now therefore am desirous of forming a society of my own choosing, and I beg you always to remember, all your life, that I shall always be happy to see you. I think you very discreet, and the best woman in the world, and I beg you to consider the tower always as your own; there are offices, and you might almost live there; and if Sir John is ever called away, do not go home to your family; it is not pleasant after people have children, therefore always come to my tower. I hope to see you there very soon again. The prince has offered me sixty thousand, if I'll go and live at Hanover, but I never will; this is the only country in the world to live in.' She then kissed me, and I took my leave.

"While I had been in the round tower in Montague-house, which only consists of two rooms and a closet on a floor, I had always my maid and child slept within my room, and Sir John was generally with me, he and all my friends having free permission to visit. Mrs. Cole (the page) slept over my room, and a watchman went round the tower all night. Upon my return home, the same apparent friendship continued, and in one of her royal highness's evening visits she told me, she was come to have a long conversation with me, that she had been in a great agitation, and I must guess what had happened to her. I guessed a great

many things, but she said no, to them all; and then I said I gave it up, for I had no idea what she could mean, and therefore might guess my whole life without success. 'Well then, I must tell you,' said her royal highness, 'but I am sure you know all the while. I thought you had completely found me out, and therefore I came to you, for you looked droll when I called for ale and fried onions and potatoes, and when I said I eat tongue and chickens at my breakfast; that I was sure as my life you suspected me; tell me honestly, did you not?' I affected not to understand the princess at all, and did not really comprehend her. She then said, 'Well, I'll tell; I am with child, and the child came to life when I was breakfasting with Lady Willoughby. The milk flowed up into my breast so fast, that it came through my muslin gown, and I was obliged to pretend that I had spilt something, and go up stairs to wipe my gown with a napkin, and got up stairs into Lady Willoughby's room, and did very well, but it was an unlucky adventure.' I was, indeed, most sincerely concerned for her, conceiving it impossible but she must be ruined, and I expressed my sorrow in the strongest terms, saying, what would she do? she could never carry such an affair through, and I then said, I hoped she was mistaken. She said No, she was sure of it, and these sort of things only required a good courage; that she should manage very well; but though she told me she would not employ me in the business, for I was like all the English women, so very nervous, and she had observed me so frightened a few days past, when a horse galloped near me, that she would not let me have any thing to do for the world. The princess added, 'You will be surprised to see how well I manage it, and I am determined to suckle the child myself.' I expressed my great apprehensions, and asked her what she would do if the Prince of Wales seized on her person, when she was a wet-nurse? She said she would never suffer any one to touch her person. She laughed at

my fears, and added, 'You know nothing about these things; if you had read *Les Avantures du Chevalier de Grammont*, you would know better what famous tricks princesses and their ladies played then, and you shall and must read the story of Catharine Parr and a Lady Douglas of those times; have you never heard of it?' She then related it, but as I never had heard of it, I looked upon it as her own invention to reconcile my mind to these kind of things. After this we often met, and the princess often alluded to her situation and to mine, and one day as we were sitting together upon the sofa, she put her hand upon her stomach, and said laughing, 'Well, here we sit like Mary and Elizabeth, in the Bible.' When she was bled she used to press me always to be present, and used to be quite angry that I would not, and whatever she thought good for herself she always recommended to me. Her royal highness now took every occasion to estrange me from Sir John, by laughing at him, and wondering how I could be content with him; urged me constantly to keep my own room, and not to continue to sleep with him, and said, if I had any more children, she would have nothing more to say to me. Her design was evident, and easily seen through, and consequently averted. She naturally wished to keep us apart, lest, in a moment of confidence, I should repeat what she had divulged, and if she estranged me from my husband, she kept me to herself. I took especial care, therefore, that my regard for him should not be undermined. I never told him her situation, and contrary to her wishes, Sir John and I remained upon the same happy terms we always had.

"It will scarcely be credited, (nevertheless it is strictly true, and those who were present must avow it, or perjure themselves,) what liberty the princess gave both to her thoughts and her tongue, in respect to every part of the royal family. It was disgusting to us, beyond the power of language to describe, and upon such occasions we always

believed and hoped she could not be aware of what she was talking about, otherwise common family affection, common sense, and common policy, would have kept her silent. She said before the two Fitzgeralds, Sir Sidney Smith, and ourselves, that when Mr. Addington had his house given him, his majesty did not know what he was about, and waved her hand round and round her head, laughing, and saying, 'certainly he did not; but the queen got twenty thousand, so that was all very well.' We were all at a loss, and no one said any thing. This was at my house one morning; the rest of the morning passed in abusing Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth), and her critiques upon him closed by saying, 'It was not much wonder a peace was not lasting, when it was made by the son of a quack-doctor.' Before Miss Hamond, one evening at my house, she said, 'Prince William is going to Russia, and there is to be a grand alliance with a Russian Princess, but it is not very likely a Russian Princess will marry the grandson of a washerwoman.' Sir Sidney Smith, who was present, begged her pardon, asserted it was not so, and wished to stop her, but she contradicted him, and entered into all she knew of the private history of the duchess's mother, saying, 'she was literally a common washerwoman, and the duchess need not to take so much pains, and not to expose her skin to the open air, when her mother had been in it all day long.' When she was gone, Sir John was very much disgusted, and said, her conversation had been so low and ill-judged, and so much below her, that he was perfectly ashamed of her, and she disgraced her station. Sir Sidney Smith agreed, and confessed he was astonished, for it must be confessed she was not deserving of her station.

"After the Duke of Kent had been so kind as to come and take leave of her, before he left England, upon the day I mentioned, she delivered her critique upon his royal highness, saying, 'He had the manners of a prince, but was a

disagreeable man, and not to be trusted, and that his majesty had told him, "Now, sir, when you go to Gibraltar, do not make such a trade of it as you did when you went to Halifax." The princess repeated, upon my honour it is true; the king said, 'Do not make such a trade of it.' She went on to say, 'the prince at first ordered them all to keep away, but they came now sometimes: however, they were no loss, for there is not a man among them all whom any one can make their friend.' As I was with the princess one morning in her garden house, his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland waited upon her. As soon as he was gone she said, 'He was a foolish boy, and had been asking her a thousand foolish questions.' She then told me every word of his secrets, which he had been telling her; in particular a long story of Miss Keppel, and that he said, the old woman left them together, and wanted to take him in, and therefore he had cut the connexion. She said, she liked his countenance best, but she could trace a little family likeness to herself; but for all the rest they were very ill made, and had plum-pudding faces, which she could not bear. His royal highness the Duke of Cambridge was next ridiculed. She said, he looked exactly like a serjeant, and so vulgar with his ears full of powder. This was her royal highness's usual and favourite mode of amusing herself and her company.

The conversation was always about men, praising the Englishmen, reviling all English women, as being the ugliest creatures in the world, and the worst, and always engaged in some project or another, as the impulse of the moment might prompt, without regard to consequences or appearances. Whether she amused other people in the same way, I know not, but she chose to relate to me every private circumstance she knew relative to every part of the royal family, and also every thing relative to her own, with such strange anecdotes, and circumstantial accounts of

things that never are talked of, that I again repeat, I hope I shall never hear again; and I remember once in my lying-in-room, she gave such an account of Lady Ann Windham's marriage, and all her husband said on the occasion, that Mrs. Fitzgerald sent her daughter out of the room while her royal highness finished her story.

"Such was the person we found her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and as we continued to see her character and faults, Sir John and myself more and more, daily and hourly, regretted that the world could not see her as we did, and that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should have lost *any popularity*, when, from her own account (the only account we ever had) *she* was the aggressor from the beginning, herself *alone*, and I, as an humble individual, declare, that from the most *heartfelt* and unfeigned conviction that I believe, if any other married woman had acted as her royal highness has done, I never yet have known a man who could have endured it; and her temper is so tyrannical, capricious, and furious, that no man on earth will ever bear it; and, in private life, any woman who had thus played and sported with her husband's comfort, and her husband's popularity, would have been turned out of her house, or left by herself in it, and would deservedly have forfeited her place in society. I therefore again beg leave to repeat, from the conviction of my own unbiassed understanding, and the conviction of my own eyes, no human being could live with her, excepting her servants for their wages; and any poor unfortunate women like the Fitzgeralds, for their dinner; and I trust and hope her real character will some time or another be displayed, that the people of this country may not be imposed upon.

"The princess was now sometimes kind, and at others churlish, especially if I would not fall into her plans of ridiculing Sir John. About this time, one day at table with her, she began abusing Lady Rumbold (whom she had

invited to see her a few days before, to give her letters of recommendation, if she went to Brunswick), and as the abuse was in the usual violent vulgar style, and I had never seen Lady Rumbold but that one morning she was her royal highness's guest, and cared nothing about her, I did not join in reviling her and Miss Rumbold. Sir Sidney Smith was present, and as there appeared a great friendship between the Rumbolds and him, I thought it not civil to him to say any thing, and one always conceives, in being quite silent, one must be safe from offending any party. I was, however, mistaken; for observing me silent, she looked at me in a dreadful passion, and said, 'Why don't you speak, Lady Douglas? I know you think her ugly as well as us—a vulgar, common milliner; Lord Heavens! that she was; and her daughter looks just like a girl that walks up the street.' I suppose she expected, by this thundering appeal, to force me to join in the abuse; but it had a contrary effect upon me. I chose to judge entirely for myself, and I was determined, I would not; therefore, when she had raved until she could go on no longer, I said I did not think her ugly; it was a harsh term.—I thought her manner very bad, and that she was very ill-dressed: but, when young, I thought she must have been a pretty woman. This was past her power of enduring, which I really did not know, or I would have remained silent. She fixed her eyes furiously upon me, and bawled out, 'Then you're a liar, you're a liar, and the little child you're going to have will be a liar.' I pushed my plate from me, eat no more, and remained silent, and my first impulse was to push back my chair and quit the house, but the idea that I should break up the party from table, and make a confusion, and also my not being able to walk home, and my carriage not being ordered until night, left me in my chair. The conversation was changed; at last Sir Sidney said again, 'Well, these ladies have had a severe trimming, they had better not have

come to Blackheath, and there sits poor Lady Douglas, looking as if she were going to be executed.' I was very far advanced in my pregnancy, it agitated me greatly, and I remained aloof and very shy all the evening.

"When I afterwards wrote to Sir Sidney for Sir John, upon some common occurrence, I said, I do not like the Princess of Wales's mode of treating her guests: her calling me a liar was an unpardonable thing, and if she ever speaks upon the subject to you, pray tell her I did not like it, and that if I had been a man, I would have rather died than endured it; that it is a thing which never by any chance occurs to a lady; on a repetition of it I will give up her acquaintance. It seems Sir Sidney Smith spoke to the princess upon the subject; for two days before I was confined, she made me a morning visit with the two Fitzgeralds, and, after having sat a short time, said, 'I find you were very much affronted the other day at my house, when I called you a liar; I declare I did not mean it as an affront; Lord Heavens! in any other language it is considered a joke: is it not, Mrs. Fitzgerald?' meaning, that in Germany it is a very good joke to call people liars (for Mrs. Fitzgerald does not know any language but German and English); Mrs. Fitzgerald absolutely said, Yes.

"They made me very nervous, and I burst into tears, and told the princess I only wished her to understand such a thing was never done, and was far from desiring her to apologize to me; that I had now forgiven and forgotten it, though I confess, at the time, I was very much hurt, and very much wounded; that as I never heard of its being thought a joke in any country, I was not in the least prepared to receive it in that light; for that, in this country, ladies never used the expression, and men only to shew their greatest contempt; that I never bore malice twelve hours in my life, and there was an end of the matter.

"The Fitzgeralds sat by, sometimes as audience, approving

by looks; sometimes as orators, begging me not to cry (after they had all made me), and praising her royal highness as the most magnanimous, amiable, good, beautiful, and gracious princess in the world. In short, they tormented me till they made me quite hysterical; and the princess began then to be frightened, and they all got up to look about for the hartshorn, or something of that kind, to give me—the princess crying, 'Give her something, give her something; she is very much shook, and her nerves agitated, she will be taken ill.' They gave me some water, I believe, and I did all I could to recover my spirits; but I felt in pain, and Sir John came in soon after, and as I knew it would flurry him if he saw me ill, I appeared as cheerful as I could, and they all went away, the princess taking no notice to him.

"Her royal highness had always said, she would be at my lying-in from the beginning to the end, and commanded me constantly to let her know, saying, 'I have no fear about me, and I would as soon come over the Heath in the middle of the night as in the day; I shall have a bottle of port wine on a table to keep your spirits, a tambourine, and I'll make you sing.' I was unwell all the night after her royal highness had been with me, and remained so all next day; and next morning, by six o'clock, was so ill, that Dr. Mackie, of Lewisham, who was to attend me, was sent for. In the forenoon I begged Sir John to write a note to Montague-house, where it so happened I was to have dined with the party. He wrote that I had a head-ache, and begged leave to remain at home, and the princess believed it, and went to town; but upon her return, at five o'clock in the afternoon, she called before she went home to dress, to ask after me, and finding how it was, wanted to run up into the room, but Dr. Mackie said positively she should not come, and locked the door nearest him to keep her out. Miss Cholmondeley and Miss Fitzgerald were drove home, and

her royal highness and Mrs. Fitzgerald stopped. Upon my giving a loud shriek she flew in at the other door, and came to me, doing every thing she possibly could to assist me, and held my eyes and head. The moment she heard the child's voice she left me, flew round to Dr. Mackie, pushed the nurse away, and received the child from Dr. Mackie, kissed it, and said no one should touch it until she had shewn it to me.

"Doctor Mackie was so confused and astonished, that, although an old practitioner, he left the room, without giving me any thing to recruit my strength and avert fainting, as is the custom, and the nurse gave me what she thought best; by which omission, however, I was not subject to faint away, but it was certainly a new mode of proceeding, where life is at stake, and showed more curiosity than tenderness for me. Before my little girl was brought to me, I observed, as her royal highness stood holding it, that Mrs. Fitzgerald, the nurse, and herself, were all intent, and speaking together, as if there was something peculiar in its appearance; the circumstance alarmed me, fearing it was born with some defect, and I asked eagerly to see it, and if all was right. The princess, upon this brought it to me, and said it was a remarkable large fine child, and they were only looking at a mark it had upon its left breast, certainly a very large one, and a little on its eyes, but it would go off. I recollected that, although I never, when in a pregnant state, was subject to whims, longing, as thinking it very troublesome and foolish, yet I felt obliged, in this instance, to believe the old-received opinion to be correct: for it happened, that during my visit at Montague-house in March, I was one Sunday morning very much incommoded by pains in my chest and stomach, and her royal highness made Mrs. Sander give me some warm peppermint-water; there was raspberry-ice in the desert the same day, and I had just began to eat mine when the princess looked at me, and

said, my dear Lady Douglas, you have forgotten the pain you were in this morning; and turning to her page, ordered him to take away my plate.

"Mr. Cole, the page, removed, and I can never describe my disappointment; I was almost inclined to remonstrate, although there was a large party of strangers, and I did express a desire to retain it, but the princess would not allow of it; and as she had appointed herself to the sole management of me, I was obliged to be quiet: my uneasiness, however, became extreme, and forgetting every thing but the ice in question, I asked a Mr. Hamer, who sat next to me, to be so good as to ask for some ice, and, by dint of asking him to do so, I at length induced him, and at last he asked Lady Townshend for some more ice. I immediately took my spoon, and stooping a little, so that the flowers upon the plateau concealed me in part from the princess, eat all Mr. Hamer's ice, while he looked on laughing, and put his plate a little nearer to me that it might not look so odd.

"The following day I eat eight glasses of raspberry-ice at once, and was very well after it: and from that time sought it every where, and eat of it voraciously: and I cannot help attributing the marks of my little girl to the circumstance. Her royal highness then kissed me, begged me to send for her whenever I liked, and she would come; desired I might have plenty of flannel about me, of which she had sent me some by Mrs. Fitzgerald, and then went home to dinner. I know not what she said or did among her party at home, but Miss Cholmondeley often said she should never forget the princess on that day.

"All the month of August the princess visited me daily; in one of these visits, after she had sent Mrs. Fitzgerald away, she drew her chair close to the bed, and said, 'I am delighted to see how well and easily you have got through this affair; I, who am not the least nervous, shall make

nothing at all of it. When you hear of my having taken children in baskets from poor people, take no notice; that is the way I mean to manage: I shall take any that offer, and the one I have will be presented in the same way, which, as I have taken others, will never be thought any thing about.' I asked her how she would ever get it out of the house? but she said, Oh, very easily. I said it was a perilous business; I would go abroad if I were her; but she laughed at my fears, and said she had no doubt but of managing it all very well. I was very glad she did not ask me to assist her, for I was determined in my own mind never to do so, and she never did make any request of me, for which I was very thankful. I put the question to her, who she would get to deliver her? but she did not answer for a minute, and then said, I shall get a person over: I'll manage it, but never ask me about it; Sander was a good creature, and being immediately about her person, and sleeping near her room, must be told; but Miss Ghaunt must be sent to Germany, and the third maid, a young girl, kept out of the way as well as they could. I suggested, I was afraid her appearance at St. James's could not fail to be observed, and she would have to encounter all the royal family. Her reply was, that she knew how to manage her dress, and by continually increasing large cushions behind, no one would observe, and fortunately the birth-days were over, until she should have got rid of her appearance.

"In this manner passed all the time of my confinement, at the end of which she sent Mrs. Fitzgerald to attend me to church, and when I went to pay my duty to her royal highness, after I went abroad again, she told me, whenever I was quite stout, she would have the child christened; that she meant to stand in person, and I must find another godmother; Sir Sidney Smith would be the godfather. I named the Duchess of Athol, as a very amiable woman, of suitable rank, and said that there had been a long friendship

betwixt Sir John's family and the Athol family, I knew it would be very agreeable to him. Finding they were gone to Scotland, we wrote to ask her grace; and she wrote word she would stand godmother with great pleasure, and enclosed ten guineas for the nurse.

"The princess invited Sir Sidney Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Smith, and Baron Herbert, and Sir John Douglas, to dine with her. Miss Cholmondeley and the two Fitzgeralds were with her royal highness, and in the evening they all came; I staid at home to receive her. The clergyman from Lewisham christened the child; the princess named it Caroline Sidney. As soon as he was gone (which was shortly after the ceremony was over, the princess sat down upon the carpet—a thing she was very fond of doing, in preference to sitting upon the chairs, saying, it was the pleasantest lively affair altogether she had ever known. She chose to sit upon the carpet the whole evening, while *we* all sat upon the chairs. Her royal highness was dressed in the lace dress which, I think, she wore at Frogmore fête—pearl necklace, bracelets, and armbands, a pearl bandeau round her head, and a long lace veil.

"When supper was announced, her royal highness went in and took the head of the table, and eat an amazing supper of chicken and potted lamprey, which she would have served to her on the same plate, and eat them together. After the supper she called the attention of the party to my good looks, and saying I was as lively an *espiegle* as ever; said, that I had such sharp eyes, I found her out in every thing, adding, Oh! she found me out one day in such a thing when I was at luncheon, and gave me a look which was so expressive, that I was sure she knew. This speech, uttered, between herself and me, was algebra to the party. I did not know what to do, but I saw the secret cost her dear to keep, and she was ready to betray it to any one she met, by the strange things she said and did; I laughed and

said, if my eyes have been too observing I am sorry, I never intended them to be; I cannot be quite so polite as to say, 'if my sight offends I will put it out,' because I think with Sheridan, that the prejudice is strongly in favour of two; but depend upon it, at all future luncheons I will do nothing but eat. She was in great spirits, staid until two o'clock in the morning, and then, attended by Miss Cholmondeley and the Fitzgeralds, went home.

"Her royal highness's civilities continued; she desired me constantly to bring my children to Montague-house, and also the infant; and when I would have retired to suckle it, she would not suffer me, but commanded me to do it in the drawing-room where she was; and she came with her ladies visiting me both mornings and evenings, and nursing little Caroline for hours together. I saw now the princess had told Mrs. Sander, who, I believe, was a very quiet good kind of woman, and her countenance was full of concern and anxiety. She appeared desirous of speaking to me, and was unusually obsequious: but the princess always watched us both close; if Sander came into a room, and I went towards her, the princess came close, or sent one or another away, so that I could never speak to her.

"The princess had now quarrelled with Sir Sidney Smith, to whom she had been so partial, and to every part of whose family she had been so kind, telling us constantly that she liked them all, because old Mr. Smith had saved the Duke of Brunswick's life. As Sir John was Sir Sidney's friend, she therefore was shy of us all, and we saw little of her—but on the 30th of October I went to call upon her before I left Blackheath, and met her royal highness just returned from church, walking before her own house with Mrs. Fitzgerald and her daughter, dressed in a long Spanish velvet cloak and an enormous muff, but which together could not conceal the state she was in, for I saw directly she was very near her time, and think I must have seen it if I had not

known her situation. She appeared morose, and talked a little, but did not ask to go in, and after taking a few turns returned home.

"In about a fortnight we received a note, the princess requesting neither Sir John or I to go to Montague-house, as her servants were afraid some of the children she had taken had the measles, and if any infection remained about the house, we might carry it to our child. We wrote a note expressive of our thanks for her obliging precautions, and that we would not go to Montague-house, until we had the honour of receiving her royal highness's commands. The princess never sent for us, and when I left my card before I went to pass Christmas in Gloucestershire, I was not admitted; so that *I never saw her after the 13th of October*; but I heard the report of her having adopted an infant, and Miss Fitzgerald told it me as she rode past my house, but would not come in, *for fear she should bring the measles.*

"Upon my return to Blackheath, in January, I called to pay my duty. I found her packing a small black box, and an infant sleeping on a sofa, with a piece of scarlet cloth thrown over it. She appeared confused, and hesitated whether she should be rude or kind, but recovering herself, chose to be the latter; said, she was happy to see me, and then taking me by the hand led me to the sofa, and uncovering the child said, 'Here is the little boy, I had him two days after I saw you last; is it not a nice little child? the upper part of his face is very fine.' She was going to have said more, when Mrs. Fitzgerald opened the door and came in. The princess consulted what I had better have, what would be good for me. I declined any thing, but she insisted upon it I should have some soup, and said my dear Fitzgerald, pray go out and order some nice brown soup to be brought here for Lady Douglas. I saw from this the princess wished to have spoken to me more fully, and Mrs. Fitzgerald saw it likewise, for instead of obeying,

she rung the bell for the soup, and then sat down to tell me the whole fable of the child having been brought by a poor woman from Deptford whose husband had left her; that Mr. Stikeman, the page, had the honour of bringing it in; that it was a poor little ill-looking thing when first brought, but now, with such great care, was growing very pretty, and that as her royal highness was so good, and had taken the twins (whose father would not let them remain) and taken this, all the poor people would be bringing children.

"The princess now took the child up, and I was entertained the whole morning by seeing it fed, and *every service of every kind performed for it by her royal highness the Princess of Wales.* Mrs. Fitzgerald aired the napkins, and *the princess put them on;* and from this time the drawing-rooms at Montague-house were literally in the style of a common nursery. The tables were covered with spoons, plates, feeding-boats, and clothes; round the fire, napkins were hung to air, and the *marble hearths were strewed with napkins which were taken from the child;* for, very extraordinary to relate, *this* was a part of the ceremony *her royal highness was particularly tenacious of always performing herself,* let the company be who they might. At first the child slept with her, she told me, but it made her nervous, and therefore a nurse was hired to assist in taking charge of it, and for him to sleep with.

"The princess said one day to me as she was nursing him, he had a little milk for two or three days, but it did not do, so we bring him up by hand with all kind of nourishing things, and you see how well he thrives; so that I really always supposed she had attempted to suckle it. Another time she shewed me his hand, which has a pink mark upon it, and said it was very singular *both our children* should be marked, and she thought *her child's* came from her having some wine thrown on her hand, for she did not look much at little Caroline's mark.

"The princess now adopted a new mode of inviting us to see her. She would invite either Sir John or I, but never both together as formerly. I concluded, from *this*, that as she found it so difficult to keep *even her own secret*, she could ill-imagine I had been able *to keep hers*, and therefore under the impression that by *that time* I must have told Sir John, did not like to meet both our eyes; and if she saw Sir John without me, could better judge by his looks and manner whether I had divulged or not. I conclude she was at length satisfied I had not: for we were one morning both invited again in the former manner, to a breakfast, and as it was a very curiously arranged party, I will put down the names, for to the person who is to peruse this detail, it will confirm the idea that her royal highness cannot always know correctly what she is about.

"When we entered, the princess was sitting upon the sofa, elegantly dressed in white and silver drapery, which covered her head, and fell all over her person, and she had her little boy upon her knee elegantly dressed likewise. The guests were, her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte of Wales, with Miss Hunt, her governess, Captain Manby, of the navy, Mr. Spencer Smith, the Fitzgeralds, and ourselves. She got up and nursed the child, and carrying it to Sir John, said, 'Here, Sir John, this is the Deptford boy, I suppose you have heard I have taken a little child.' Sir John only said, Yes, he had, and it seemed a fine baby. She seemed pleased and satisfied that I had not told him, and then sat down to table, putting a chair for Princess Charlotte on her right hand, taking me by the hand, and putting me on her left hand, told Captain Manby to sit at the top, and Mr. Spencer Smith at the bottom, and Sir John and the Fitzgeralds faced us. Princess Charlotte had a plain dinner prepared for her in another room, according to custom, and came in when our desert was placed, when we all sat down again as we were sitting, except Miss Hunt,

who was never ordered to sit, but stood a few yards from Princess Charlotte.

"About five o'clock her royal highness rose from table, the little boy was brought in again, Princess Charlotte played with it, and the Princess of Wales wished all of us a good morning, and we broke up, totally at a loss to conceive what amusement it could be to collect us together. This breakfast was a kind of *finale*. We had very little intercourse.

"Her royal highness would walk past our house, for the express purpose of shewing she did not mean to come in, and when we did see her, she always abused Sir Sidney Smith. Often said, she wondered I liked to live at such a dull place as Blackheath, and, in short, gave us hints we could not misunderstand, that she wanted us away.

"At this time Sir John received a letter from his division, expressive of the general's wish that he would go to Plymouth, and therefore (without an Admiralty order) he determined to go to emancipate ourselves from the Princess of Wales, and as soon as we could dispose of the furniture, I followed him, leaving the house empty, which was ours three months after I quitted it.

"The day Sir John was to set off, the princess walked to our house, and though his trunks were in the room, and he was occupied, would have him sit down and talk to her, *overpowering* him and myself *now* with kindness, and said she could eat something. She did so, staid four hours in the house, and at parting took Sir John by both hands, wished him every good wish, and begged him always to recollect how happy she should be to see him again, and that she would be *very kind to me in his absence*; however, after he was *gone*, she never came near me, or offered me any kind of civility whatsoever.

"When I was upon the eve of departure, I called upon her, and took her god-daughter and my other little girl with me.

She was almost uncivil, and paid little or no attention if I spoke. I said the children were with me, but she did not answer, and after speaking four or five hours very unpleasantly, suffering all the unpleasant feeling of being where I had been courted and idolized, I begged permission at last to go away. When I went out, to my surprise, I found the children had been kept in the passage near the front door, with the door open to Blackheath, in a December day, with four opposite doors opened and shut upon them, instead of being taken to the housekeeper's room, as they always had been. My maid had at length begged the footman to go to a fire, as the children cried dreadfully, and were very cold I understand the man was a footman of the name of Gaskin, I think, and his answer was, if the children are cold, you can put them back into the carriage, and warm them. I took them home immediately, and was inclined to return and ask why they had been thus all of a sudden treated with this brutality and impertinence, and which was doubly cruel in Sir John's absence; but I deferred going until I meant to take my final leave, which I did on the following Sunday. Dr. Burnaby was standing in the hall, with every thing prepared for the princess to receive the sacrament. I was ushered through notwithstanding, and the footmen seemed to go to and fro as much at their ease as if no such thing was preparing. She was standing in the drawing-room, and received me with Mrs. Lisle and Mrs. Fitzgerald. I said I should have been gone before, had it been in my power, and in compliance with her commands, had come to take my leave. She did not ask me to sit down, but said—God bless you; good bye. I then said, I was much concerned I had brought my little girls a few days past, and that I should never have done so, but from her royal highness's repeated desire. She said, she was sorry; and asked who used them so. I told her, one of her livery-servants, and Sir John would not like to hear of it. Her royal highness

said, stop a moment; flew past me through the hall where Dr. Burnaby stood waiting for her, up to her own room, and returned with a white paper-box, pushing it into my hand—God bless you, my dear Lady Douglas. I said, I wished to decline taking any thing; that my object in coming there was to offer her my duty, and tell her how ill my children had been used. I could not conceive how any footman could use the freedom of treating Sir John's children so, unless he had been desired. She only answered, "Oh! no, indeed: good bye." I attempted to put the box into her hands, saying I had rather not have it; but she dropt her hands, and turned away. I therefore wished Mrs. Lisle and Mrs. Fitzgerald good morning, and went away. Dr. Burnaby spoke to me as I passed him, and, looking back, I saw her royal highness's head; she was looking out after me, to see if she had fairly got rid of me, and laughing immoderately at Dr. Burnaby in his gown.

I quitted her house, resolved never to re-enter it but for form's sake, and wrote her word, that as I had long been treated rudely, and my children, whom she courted to her house, were now insulted there, I felt a dislike to accepting any present thrown at me, as it were, under such unpleasant circumstances; that I had not untied the box, and requested she would permit me to return it; and that I was an English gentlewoman, and defied her to say she had ever seen a single impropriety in my conduct, I would never suffer myself to be ill-used without a clear explanation. The princess wrote back a most haughty imperious reply, desiring me to keep the box, styled herself Princess of Wales in almost every line, and insulted me to such a degree, that I returned an answer insisting upon her explaining herself. This she returned me unopened, saying, she would not open my second letter, and had therefore sent it to me to put in the fire, and that she was ready to put the matter in oblivion, as she desired me to do, wished me and my dear little children

well, and should at all times be glad to see her former neighbour. I did as she desired, and went away at Christmas without ever seeing or hearing more of her royal highness, and found in the paper box a gold necklace, with a medallion suspended from it of a mock.

Thus ended my intercourse, for the present, with the Princess of Wales, and the year 1803.

When we resided in Devonshire, seeing by the papers that her royal highness was ill, we sent a note of inquiry to the lady in waiting, which was answered very politely, and even in a friendly manner by her royal highness's orders. Upon the arrival of the Duke of Sussex from abroad, Sir John returned to town to attend him, and when we drove to Blackheath to see our friends, I left my card for her royal highness, who was visiting Mr. Canning; the moment she returned home she commanded Mrs. Vernon to send me word never to repeat my visits to Blackheath. I gave Sir John the note, and must confess, accustomed as I had been to her haughty overbearing caprice, yet this exceeded my belief of what she was capable of, being so inconsistent with her two last letters; but the fact was, she thought we were gone above 200 miles from her, and should be there for many years, and she never calculated upon the return of his royal highness the Duke of Sussex, having very often told me his royal highness would never live in England, in his majesty's life-time; that she was certain of that, and had reasons for knowing it; and Sir John would never have him here. I suppose she had taken this into her head, because she wished it; and, therefore, the return of his royal highness was a mortal death-blow to all her hopes on this score; and when she found that his royal highness was not only returned, but that Sir John was in attendance, and that his royal highness was in Carlton-house, where Sir John might see, and have the honour of being made known to the Prince of Wales, her *fear* and *rage* got the better of every prudent

consideration, and she commanded Mrs. Vernon to dismiss me as I have mentioned.

"Had the Princess of Wales written to me herself, and told me, in a civil manner, that she would thank me to keep away, I should have acquainted her, that I wished and desired to do so, and had only called for the sake of appearances, and there the matter would have ended; unless I had ever been called upon (as I am now) by his majesty, or the heir apparent. *In that case*, as in this, I should have made it my sacred duty to have answered, as upon my oath; but the circumstance of being driven out of her house by the hands of the lady in waiting, as if I had deserved it, and as if I were a culprit, was wounding one with a poisoned arrow, which left the wound to fester after it had torn and stabbed me; it was a refinement in insult, for the princess had always been in the habit of writing to me *herself*, and had commanded me never to hold intercourse with her through her ladies, but *always* directly to *herself;* and so particular were her directions and permission upon this head, that she told me never to put my letters under cover, but always direct them to herself.

"I felt so miserable, that Mrs. Vernon, to whom I was known, and for whom Sir John and myself had an esteem, should think ill of me, and I therefore wrote to the princess, saying, 'From the moment she judged proper to come into my family, I had always conducted myself towards her royal highness with the respect her high station demanded; and that when she forced her secrets upon me, I had (whatsoever my sentiments were) kept them most honourably for her, never yet having even told Sir John, although I gave him my full confidence in all other things; nor had I even, under my present aggravation, imparted it, or meant:—that after such generous conduct on my part, I was at a loss to conceive what she proposed to *herself* by persecuting me; that I was afflicted at being so placed in the opinion of a

good woman, like Mrs. Vernon, and who was free to say what she pleased upon the subject *every where;* that it was half as bad to be *thought* ill of as to deserve it; and that I would wait upon Mrs. Vernon, and detail to her a circumstantial account of every thing which had occurred since I had known her royal highness; and I would acquaint my husband and family with the same, and leave them, and the circle of my friends, to judge betwixt her royal highness and myself; that I would not lie under an imputation of having done wrong; and I took my leave of her royal highness *for ever,* only first regretting I had ever known her, and thankful to be emancipated from Montague-house, and that she owed it to me to have, at least, dismissed me in a civil manner, by her *own hands.*'

"This letter her royal highness returned unopened; but, from its appearance, I had strong reason to believe she had read it. I was resolved, however, if she had not, she should be taught better, as she might not treat any other person so ill as she had me, and my mind was bent upon speaking to Mrs. Vernon; I was nearly certain, if I wrote to Mrs. Vernon, the princess would make her send my letter back, and therefore I wrote Mrs. Fitzgerald nearly a copy of what I sent her royal highness, and called upon *her,* as she had been always present, to say, if she ever saw any thing in my behaviour to justify any rudeness towards me: that I was precisely what the princess found me, when the princess walked up *to her knees in snow to seek my acquaintance,* and precisely *the same individual* whom she had thought worthy of the strongest proofs of her friendship, and whose lying-in she had attended in so particular a manner, and had thought worthy of shedding tears over; that her royal highness had thought proper to confide in me a secret, of very *serious importance to* herself; and I would not, after acting in the most honourable manner to *her,* be dismissed by a lady in waiting; and I meant to be at Mon-

tague-house, and have a satisfactory conversation with Mrs. Vernon; and therefore she would be so good as acquaint her royal highness with the contents of my letter, or lay it before her royal highness.

" Mr. Fitzgerald sent back a confused note, saying, she could not shew the princess my letter, unless she was called upon; and when she opened it her disappointment was great, for she expected to have found respectful inquiries after her royal highness's finger (which was hurt when she went to see Mr. Canning), and that I might make my mind easy, as ladies in waiting never repeated any thing; and she was astonished I had thrown out such a hint.

" A day or two after, a note was sent to Sir John, as if nothing had happened, requesting him to go to Montague-house. The servant who brought it drove Mrs. Vernon from Blackheath home to her own house in town, and I have no doubt it will be found (if inquiry is made), that Mrs. Vernon was put prematurely out of her waiting, lest I should explain with her. Sir John obeyed her royal highness's summons, and she received him in the most gracious pleasant manner, taking as much pains to please and flatter him *now* as she had formerly done by me, and began a conversation with him relative to a General Innes, of the marines, whom the Admiralty thought proper, with many others, to put upon the retired list; she expressed an ardent desire to get that officer reinstated, and consulted Sir John, as belonging to the same corps, how she could accomplish such an undertaking. Sir John listened to her attentively, and made her short and very polite answers, acquainting her no such thing was ever done. She then said she must speak to Lord Melville about it, as it was a hard case. The luncheon was then announced, and she ordered Sir John to attend herself and the ladies. Sir John found Mrs. Vernon was sent off, and a lady was there whom he did not know, but thought was Lady Carnarvon. When they were

all seated Sir John remained on his legs, and she looked anxiously at him, and said, 'My dear Sir John, sit down and eat.' He bowed, with distant respect, and said, he could not eat; that he was desirous of returning to town; and if her royal highness had no further business with him, he would beg leave to go. The princess looked quite disconcerted, and said, 'What not eat any thing, not sit down; pray take a glass of wine then.' He bowed again as before, and repeated that he could neither eat nor drink. 'Well then,' she said, 'Come again soon, my dear Sir John; I am always glad to see you.' Sir John made no reply, bowed, and left the room.

"I now received, by the twopenny post, a long anonymous letter, written by this restless mischievous person, the Princess of Wales, in which, in language which any one who had ever heard her speak, would have known to be hers, she called me all kind of names, impudent, *silly, wretched, ungrateful,* and illiteral (meaning illiterate), she tells me to take *that,* and it will mend my *ill temper,* &c. &c. and says, she is a person high in this government, and has often an opportunity of * freely with his majesty, and she thinks my conduct authorizes her to tell him off, and that *she* is my only true and *integer friend.*' Such is the spirit of this foreigner, which would have digraced a house-maid to have written, and it encloses a fabricated anonymous letter, which she pretends to have received, and upon which she built her doubts and disapprobation of me, as it advises her not to trust me, for that I am indiscreet, and tell every body that the child she took from Deptford, was her own.

"The whole construction of both these epistles, from beginning to end, are evidently that of a foreigner, and a very ignorant one, and the vulgarity of it is altogether quite

* So in the authenticated copy; some word seems omitted.

shocking. In one part she exclaims that she did not think I should have had the *impudence* to come *on her door* again, and tells me 'tis for my being *indiscreet, and not having allowed her to call me a liar*, that she treats me *thus*, and that I would do well to remember the story of *Henry the Eighth's Queen, and Lady Douglas*. I was instantly satisfied it was from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and that Mrs. Fitzgerald had shewn her my letter, and this was her answer to it. I immediately carried it to Sir John Douglas, who said he was sure it came from the princess, and he shewed it to Sir Sidney Smith, who said, every word and expression in it were those which the Princess of Wales constantly used.

"Sir John desired me now to give him a full explanation of what her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales had confided to me, and whether I had ever mentioned it. I gave him my solemn word of honour it had never passed my lips, and I was only now going to utter it at his positive desire. That her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales told me she was with child, and that it came to life at Lady Willoughby's; that if she was discovered, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit, for she slept at Carlton-house twice the year she was pregnant; that she often spoke of her situation, compared herself and me to Mary and Elizabeth, and told me when she shewed me the child, that it was the little boy she had two days after I last saw her, that was the 30th of October; therefore her son was born upon the 1st of November, and I took a retrospect view of things after I knew the day of his birth, and found her royal highness must have gone down stairs and dined with all the chancellors about the fourth day after she was delivered, with the intention, if discovered, of having them all to say they dined with her in perfect health so early in November, that it could not be. Sir John recollected all her whims, and went over her whole conduct, and he firmly believes

her to be *the mother of the reputed Deptford child.* I then acquainted him of the pains she had taken to estrange my mind and affections from him, and he saw her pursuit of now changing sides, and endeavouring to estrange him from me, lest if we lived in a happy state of confidence, I might make known her situation to him; and we agreed, that as we had no means of communicating at present with his majesty, or the heir-apparent, we must wait patiently until called upon to bring forward her conduct, as there seemed little doubt we should one day be.

"Finding that Sir John Douglas did not choose to visit where his wife was discarded and hurt in the estimation of her acquaintance, her fury became so unbounded, that she sought what she could do most atrocious, wicked, and inhuman, she reached her it would seem, and the result was, she made two drawings with a pen and ink, and sent them to us by the twopenny post, representing me as having disgraced myself with his old friend Sir Sidney Smith. They are of the most indecent nature, drawn with her own hand, and words upon them in her own hand-writing. Sir John, Sir Sidney, and myself, can all swear point blank without a moment's hesitation; and if her royal highness is a subject, and amenable to the laws of this country (and I conceive her to be so), she ought to be tried and judged by those laws for doing thus, to throw firebrands into the bosom of a quiet family.

"My husband, with that cool good sense which has ever marked his character, and with a belief in my innocence, which nothing but facts can stagger (for it is founded upon my having been faithful to him nine years before we were married, and seven years since,) as well as his long acquaintance with Sir Sidney Smith's character and disposition, and having seen the Princess of Wales's loose and vicious character, put the letters in his pocket, and went instantly to Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Sidney was as much

astonished as we had been. Sir John then told him, he put the question to him, and expected an answer such as an officer and gentleman ought to give to his friend: Sir Sidney Smith gave Sir John his hand, as his old friend and companion, and assured him in the most solemn manner, as an officer and gentleman, that the whole was the most audacious and wicked calumny; and he would swear to its being the hand-writing of the Princess of Wales; and that he believed Lady Douglas to be the same virtuous domestic woman he thought her, when Sir John first made him known to her. Sir Sidney added, 'I never said a word to your wife, but what you might have heard; and had I been so base as to attempt any thing of the kind under your roof, I should deserve for you to shoot me like a mad dog. I am ready to go with Lady Douglas and yourself, and let us ask her what she means by it; confront her.'

"Accordingly, Sir John wrote a note to the lady in waiting, which was to this effect: 'Sir John and Lady Douglas, and Sir Sidney Smith, present their compliments to the lady in waiting, and request she will have the goodness to say to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that they are desirous of having an audience of her royal highness immediately.' We received no answer to this note; but, in a few days, an answer was sent to Sir Sidney Smith, stating, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was much indisposed, and could not see any one at present. This was directed to Sir Sidney Smith, at our house, although he did not live there. This was an acknowledgment of her guilt: she could not face us; it was satisfactory to us all, for it said—I am the author, let me off; but to make one's satisfaction upon this the more perfect, and to warn her of the danger she runs of discovery, when she did such flagrant things, I wrote the under-written note, and put it into the post-office, directed to herself:

'Madam,

'I received your former anonymous letter safe; also your two last, with drawings.

'I am, madam,

'Your obedient servant,

'CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.'

"It appears evident that her royal highness received this safe, and felt how she had committed herself, for, instead of returning it in the old style, she sent for his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and requested him to send for Sir Sidney, and by the post Sir Sidney received an anonymous letter, saying, the writer of that wished for no *civil dissentions*, and that there seldom was a difference, where, if the parties wished it, they could not arrange matters. Sir Sidney Smith brought this curious letter to shew Sir John, and we were all satisfied it was from her royal highness, who, thinking Sir Sidney and Sir John might, by this time, be cutting each other's throats, sent very graciously to stop them; in short, she called them *civil dissentions*.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, being employed to negotiate, sent for Sir Sidney Smith, and acquainted him, that he was desired by her royal highness to say, that she would see Sir Sidney Smith in the course of a few days, provided, when he came to her, he avoided all disagreeable discussions whatsoever. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent then sought from Sir Sidney an explanation of the matter; Sir Sidney Smith then gave the Duke of Kent a full detail of circumstances, and ended by saying, 'We all could, and would, swear the drawings and words contained in those covers, were written by the Princess of Wales; for, as if she were fully to convict herself, she had sealed one of the covers with the identical seal she had used upon the cover, when she summoned Sir John to luncheon at Montague-house.'

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, finding what a scrape she had entangled herself in, exclaimed, 'Abominable! foolish! to be sure; but, Sir Sidney Smith, as this matter, if it makes a noise, may distress his majesty, and be injurious to his health, I wish Sir John and Lady Douglas would (at least for the present) try to forget it; and if my making them a visit would be agreeable, and soothe their minds, I will go with all my heart, though I am not yet acquainted with them, and I will speak fully to the Princess of Wales, and point out to her the danger of doing such things; but, at all events, it would be very injurious to his majesty's health, if it came to his ears just now.'

"Sir Sidney Smith came from his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent to us, and delivered his royal highness's message. Sir John declined all negotiation; but told Sir Sidney Smith, that he was empowered to say to the Duke of Kent from him, that of whatsover extent he might* his injuries, and however anxious he might be to seek justice, yet when he received such an intimation from one of the royal family, he would certainly pause before he took any of those measures he meant to take; and if that was the case, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was desirous of his being quiet, lest his majesty's health or peace might be disturbed by it, his duty, and his attachment to his sovereign were so sincere, that he would bury (for the present) his private calamity, for the sake of his majesty's repose and the public good; but he begged to be clearly understood, that he did not mean to bind himself hereafter, but reserve to himself a full right of exposing the Princess of Wales, when he judged it might be done with greatest effect, and when it was not likely to disturb the repose of this country.

* So in the authenticated copy.

"Sir Sidney Smith told us that he had delivered Sir John's message, *verbatim*, to the Duke of Kent; and a short time afterwards, his royal highness commanded Sir John and Sir Sidney to dine with him at Kensington-palace; but the Duke of Kent did not speak to Sir John upon the subject, and the matter rested there, and would have slept for a time, had not the Princess of Wales re-commenced a fresh torrent of outrage against Sir John; and had he not discovered, that she was attempting to undermine his and Lady Douglas's character. Sir John, therefore, was compelled to communicate his situation to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in order that he might acquaint the royal family of the manner the Princess of Wales was proceeding in, and to claim his majesty's and the heir-apparent's protection. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, with that goodness and consideration Sir John expected from him, has informed his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who sent Sir John word that 'He desired to have a full detail of all that passed during their acquaintance with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and how they became known to her, it appearing to the heir-apparent, from the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, that his majesty's dearest interests, and those of this country, were very deeply involved in the question; his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has commanded them to be very circumstantial in their detail respecting all they may know relative to the child the Princess of Wales affected to adopt.' Sir John and Lady Douglas repeat, that, being so called upon, they feel it their duty to detail what they know, for the information of his majesty and the Prince of Wales, and they have so done, as upon oath, after having very seriously considered the matter, and are ready to authenticate whatever they have said, if it should be required, for his majesty's further information.

"I have drawn up this detail in the best manner I could;

and fear, from my never having before attempted a thing of the kind, it will be full of errors, and being much fatigued from writing of it, from the original, in forty-eight hours, of the facts contained therein, I believe they are correct; I am ready to assert, in the most solemn manner, that I know them all to be true."

(Signed) CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.
JOHN DOUGLAS.

In the presence of
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

Greenwich-park, Dec. 3d, 1805.

Copies of all the papers alluded to in this detail are in the hands of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

(Signed) JOHN DOUGLAS.

In the presence of
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

A true Copy, *B. Bloomfield.*

A true Copy, *J. Becket.*

Whitehall, 29th August, 1806.

We cannot allow this extraordinary statement of Lady Douglas to pass, without offering some appropriate comments upon it, considering it as the groundwork of a conspiracy to degrade the Princess of Wales, and render her infamous in the eyes of the nation. It must in the first place be taken into consideration, that the charges of Lady Douglas were brought forward four years after the criminal acts, with which her royal highness was charged, were stated to have been committed; and then, even they were not brought forward, until after her ladyship had been dismissed, n a most disgraceful manner, from the society of

her royal highness, and actually forbidden her presence. The allegations contained in the statement, it is worthy of remark, carry with them the most convincing and intrinsic proofs of falsehood, independent of their subsequent refutation by circumstantial evidence before the commissioners appointed by the king. It cannot be considered as even probable, except we suppose that her royal highness was then under the influence of mental derangement, that she should have been guilty of the consummate folly (if she were then actually in a pregnant state) of importuning Lady Douglas to become the depository of a secret, which would have placed her honour and her life at her disposal; not only without any intention of availing herself of her new and honourable confidant's assistance towards the concealment of the delivery, or the disposal of the spurious offspring; but even prohibiting her, as she herself declares, from interfering at all in the business.

The elevated rank of her royal highness did not exempt her from having her actions measured by the same standard as persons of a lower condition; and had any plebeian acted in the manner as imputed to her by Lady Douglas, she would have been declared immediately to be a proper object to be received in some receptacle for lunatics. The charges brought forward by Lady Douglas, carry discredit with them, in the eyes of every reasonable person, for they were to be

substantiated on a point the most difficult of all others of concealment, and we may say utterly impossible of concealment in a person of the rank of the Princess of Wales. It becomes, therefore, a matter of no little surprise, how a man of such experience in the world, and with such a profound knowledge of human nature as the late Lord Thurlow possessed, and to whom this farrago of gross ribaldry and consummate nonsense, is reported to have been submitted by the Prince of Wales, could with such palpable absurdities staring him in the face, have advised the statement of Lady Douglas to be submitted to his majesty, upon the erroneous ground that the allegations it contained, if true, might affect the royal succession; or that he should have deemed it of such importance, that only one line of conduct was left open for his royal highness to adopt. We are ignorant of any official documents in which a record of this advice has been preserved. But whether Lord Thurlow was or was not the adviser, the Prince of Wales was certainly very ill advised when he had recourse to a measure, which could not but lead to important inquiries respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, upon no better foundation than the allegations of a vindictive woman, in their very aspect so palpably vile and incredible, that any private gentleman, who could be induced to act upon them, would be literally hooted out of all society. If every iota of Lady Douglas's charges had been as true, as

they were proved to be false, it does not still appear in what manner they could, in the most remote degree, affect the succession to the throne. It would require something more than all that legal subtilty could produce, to prove that the offspring of a woman, who had been separated four years from her husband, could advance any claims to the rights of legitimacy. Upon what plea of right could any offspring of the princess, born several years after her formal separation from the prince, prefer a claim to the royal succession. The wise, and indeed the only rational advice which could have been given to the prince, would have been to treat the mass of extravagant and palpable calumnies, which Lady Douglas had strung together in the plenitude of her indignation, with the disregard which they merited, as the fruit of disappointed ambition and inveterate malignity. Such conduct would have been more consistent with his honour and dignity, and would have saved the country from an exposure, which reflected the highest degree of odium upon those who were the means of bringing it forward.

Previously, however, to the declaration of Lady Douglas being laid before the king, it was determined that a more minute inquiry should be instituted, and Mr. Lawten of the Temple was appointed to take the necessary steps for obtaining all the evidence which could be collected, corroborative of the allegations of Lady Douglas.

In consequence of this determination, private

examinations took place of all those individuals, who, perhaps on account of their own laxity of morals, or from some other cause had drawn down upon them the displeasure of her royal highness, and who were consequently disposed to wreak their vengeance upon her, by arraying themselves in the band of her traducers.

As these transactions will constitute an important epoch in the history of this country, and, as a complete view of these documents is necessary to the full understanding of the nature of the conspiracy, which was formed and entered into at this period, against the honour and the life of the Princess of Wales, we should not be performing our duty were we to abridge them. The description of the accusers of the Princess of Wales would be sufficient to excite strong suspicions of their veracity, independently of the impossibility of the truth of their statement.

The first of this honourable junto were William and Sarah Lampert, servants of Sir John and Lady Douglas. The declarations of these two persons were never made public, perhaps they were thought too insignificant: nor were they examined by the commissioners, at least no copy of their examination was transmitted with the other papers; and, no observation is made in the report of the commissioners, or in the answer of her royal highness upon her examination.

The whole of the evidence of William Lampert was mere hearsay.

The third deponent was William Cole, who stated, that he had lived twenty-one years with the Prince of Wales, and was so zealous in the cause of traducing his then royal mistress, that he spontaneously submitted himself to five several examinations before Sir John Douglas's solicitor, without the knowledge or consent of the Princess of Wales, and yet he is in a most unaccountable manner considered by the whig commissioners as an "unbiassed" witness.

The first of his examinations took place on the 11th of January, when he deposed as follows:

"WILLIAM COLE has been with the prince for twenty-one years in this month; he went with the princess on her marriage, and remained till April, 1802.

"In 1801, he says, he had reason to be dissatisfied with the princess's conduct. During the latter part of that year he has seen Mr. Canning several times, alone with the princess, in a room adjoining to the drawing-room, for an hour or two, of which the company took notice.

"In January 1802, Sir Sidney frequently came to dine with the princess, and their intimacy became familiar; he has frequently dined and supped at the house, and when the ladies have retired, about eleven o'clock, he has known Sir Sidney remain alone with the princess an hour or two afterwards; his suspicions increased very much; and one night, about twelve o'clock, he saw a person wrapped up in a great coat, go across the park, into the gate to the greenhouse, and he verily believes it was Sir Sidney.

"In the month of March, 1802, the princess ordered some sandwiches, which Cole took into the drawing-room, where he found Sir Sidney talking to the princess; he sat

down the sandwiches, and retired. In a short time he went again into the room, when he found the gentleman and lady sitting close together, in so familiar a posture as to alarm him very much, which he expressed by a start back, and a look at the gentleman. He dates his dismissal from this circumstance; for, about a fortnight afterwards, he was sent for by the duke of Kent, who told him he had seen the princess at court the day before; that she had expressed the greatest regard for him, and that she intended to do something for him, by employing him, as a confidential person, to do her little matters in town; and his attendance at Montague-house would not be required. He received this intimation with much concern; but said, her royal highness's pleasure must govern him.

"He says, that the cordiality between the princess and Lady Douglas was very soon brought about; and, he supposes on Sir Sidney's account; that the princess frequently went across the Heath to Lady Douglas, where she has stayed till late in the evening, and, that sometimes, Lady Douglas and Sir Sidney have come with the Princess to Montague-house, late in the evening, when they have supped.

"Sometime after he had left Montague-house, he went down, when he spoke to Fanny Lloyd, and asked her how things went on amongst them; she said, she wished he had remained amongst them; there was strange goings on;—that Sir Sidney was frequently there; and that one day, when Mary Wilson supposed the princess to be gone into the library, she went into the bed-room, where she found a man at breakfast with the Princess; that there was a great to do about it; and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen.

"He does not know much of what passed at Margate in 1803.

"In 1804, the princess was at Southend, where Fanny Lloyd also was; when Cole saw her after her return, he asked how they had gone on; she said, "Delightful doings, always on ship-board, or the captain at our house."

"She told him, that one evening, when all were supposed to be in bed, Mrs. Lisle met a man in the passage: but no alarm was made—this was Captain Manby; he was constantly in the house. Mr. Cole says, that Mrs. Sander knows every thing; that she has appeared in great distress on many occasions, and has said to him, the princess is an altered woman; he believes Sander to be a very respectable woman.

"He says, that he believes Roberts to be an honest man; that Roberts has said to him—*(As Roberts himself was examined by the Commissioners, and his deposition will be given, what Cole says he heard him say, is omitted here.)*

"That Arthur, the gardener, is a decent man, but does not know if he is privy to any thing.

"That Bidgood is a deaf, quiet man, but thinks he has not been confidentially trusted.

"That Mrs. Gosden was nurse to the child, and was always up-stairs with it; she is a respectable woman; but, after some time, took upon herself much consequence, and refused to dine in the servants' hall.

"In 1801, Lawrence, the painter, was at Montague-house for four or five days at a time, painting the princess's picture; that he was frequently alone, late in the night, with the princess, and much suspicion was entertained of him.

The second examination took place on the 14th of June, 1806, when he says—

"That the princess was at Mr. Hood's, at Catherington, near Portsmouth, for near a month in the last summer, where she took her footman and servants.

"That the house in which Mr. Hood lived was given up

to the princess, and he, and his family, went to reside in a small house adjoining.

"That the princess and Mr. Hood very frequently went out in the forenoon, and remained out for four or five hours at a time.

"That they rode in a gig, attended by a boy, (a country lad) servant to Mr. Hood, and took with them cold meat; that they used to get out of the gig, and walk into the wood, leaving the boy to attend the horse and gig, till their return. This happened very frequently; that the Duke of Kent called one day, and seeing the princess's attendants at the window, came into the house, and after waiting some time, went away without seeing the princess, who was out with Mr. Hood.

"This information Mr. Cole had from Fanny Lloyd.

"When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the princess's apartments, locked, he does not know whether any person was with her, but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions.

"Mr. Cole says, that he saw the princess at Blackheath, about four times in the year 1802, after he left her in April, and five or six times in London; that he had heard a story of the princess's being with child, but cannot say that he formed an opinion that she was so; that she grew lusty and appeared large behind; and that at the latter end of the year he made the observation, that the princess was grown thinner.

"That he cannot form an opinion about the child; that he has seen an old man and woman (about 50 years of age,) at Montague-house on a Sunday, and has inquired who they were, when he was answered by the servants in the hall, "That is little Billy's mother," (meaning the child the princess had taken, and which was found by Stikeman.)

The third and fourth examinations were on the 30th January, and the 23d February; and he deposed,

"That on the 17th of January instant, he walked from Blackheath to London with Mr. Stikeman, and, in the conversation on the road, Cole mentioned the circumstance of the little child, saying, that he was grown a fine interesting boy; to which Stikeman replied, What, do you mean Billy Austin? Cole said, Yes. Pray do the old man and woman come to see the child as usual? Stikeman said 'Old man and woman! they are not old; we have not seen them much lately; they live at Deptford;' but he appeared to avoid any conversation on the subject. Cole says, that the account of the correspondence between the princess and Captain Manby was communicated to him by Fanny Lloyd, but she never mentioned any such correspondence having taken place through Sicard, since Captain Manby went abroad.

"Cole says, that he has not been in the company, or presence, of the prince alone, or had any conversation with him on this, or any other subject, since the princess went to live at Charlton, which is near nine years ago.

"He says, that the gentleman and lady were sitting close together on the sofa; but there was nothing particular in their dress, position of legs or arms, that was extraordinary; he thought it improper that a single gentleman should be sitting quite close to a married lady, on the sofa; and from that situation, and former observations, he thought the thing improper.

"The person who was alone with the lady at late hours of the night (twelve and one o'clock), and whom he left sitting up after he went to bed, was Mr. Lawrence, the painter, which happened two different nights at least.

"As to the observation made about Sir Sidney having a

key of every door about the gardens, it was a gardener, who was complaining of the door of the green-house being left open, and the plants damaged, and who made the same to Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, and which he mentioned at Cheltenham to Sir John and Mr. Lowten.

"Lampert said he should know the gardener again."

W. COLE.

The fourth of these worthies, was Robert Bidgood, who stated that he had lived *twenty-three years with the Prince of Wales*, and whose evidence was disproved in every material point by Fanny Lloyd; but notwithstanding which, he was represented by the commissioners as an unbiassed and unquestionable witness. The testimony of this Mr. Bidgood, was considered to be of great importance, as he could speak to facts, which he had seen, as well as to those which he had not; but his *known veracity, and his unimpeachable integrity*, were, in the eyes of certain people, sufficient vouchers, that he would not depose to any circumstance which was not intrinsically and irrefutably true. His testimony was as follows, and is dated Temple, April 4th, 1806.

"He had lived with the prince twenty-three years on the 18th of September next, and has been with the princess since 21st of March 1798. In 1802 we were at Blackheath, and did not go to any other place: in 1801, Sir Sidney Smith left his card at Montague-house, and he was afterwards invited to dinner; and in the spring of 1802, Lady Douglas came to reside at the Tower, where she

stayed about three weeks. During this time, Sir Sidney was frequently at the house, both morning and evening, and remained till three or four o'clock in the morning. He has seen Sir Sidney in the blue parlour early (by ten o'clock) in the morning; and, on inquiring from the footmen how he came there without his knowledge, they said, they had not let him in, and knew nothing of his being there. He does not know of Sir Sidney being alone till three or four o'clock in the morning, as there were other ladies in the house. During the year 1802, the princess used to ride out in her phaeton, attended by Mrs. Fitzgerald, and took out cold meat, and went towards Dartford, where she spent the day, and returned about six or seven in the evening.—Williams, the coachman, always attended the princess.—Lady Douglas, during the year 1802, was constantly at Montague-house, and was admitted at all times. The princess was used frequently to go to Lady Douglas's house, where Sir Sidney resided; at the end of that year, there was a misunderstanding between Lady Douglas and the princess; and one day he saw Lady Douglas leave the house in tears, and afterwards she has not visited the princess. Mr. Bidgood's wife has lately told him, that Fanny Lloyd told her, that Mary Wilson told Lloyd, that one day, when she went into the princess's room, she found the princess and Sir Sidney in the fact; that she (Wilson) immediately left the room, and fainted at the door.

"In the winter of 1802, and the spring of 1803, Captain Manby became a visitor at Montague-house; his frigate was fitting out at Deptford, and Bidgood has reason to believe, that the princess fitted up his cabin, for he has seen the cotton furniture brought to the princess to chuse the pattern, which was sent to Blake, her upholsterer, in London-street, Greenwich. When Captain Manby was about to sail, he was walking in the anti-room, to let Captain

Manby out; and, as he stayed some time, Bidgood looked into the room, and from a mirror on the opposite side of the room to where Captain Manby and the princess stood, he saw Captain Manby kissing the princess's lips; and soon afterwards he went away. He saw the princess, with her handkerchief to her face, and go into the drawing-room apparently in tears.

"In 1803, was not with the princess at Margate. In 1804, was with the princess at Southend. We went there on the 2d of May; Sicard was constantly on the look out for the Africaine, Captain Manby's ship: and, about a month afterwards, Sicard descried the ship, before she came to the Nore. The instant the ship cast anchor, the captain came on shore in his boat to the princess. The princess had two houses, Nos. 8, and 9. She lived at No. 9; and on Sicard seeing Captain Manby come on shore, he ran down the shrubbery to meet him, and shewed him into the house, No. 9; Captain Manby was constantly at No. 9; and used to go in the evening on board his ship for some weeks; but afterwards he did not return on board the ship in the evening, and Bidgood had seen him in the morning, by ten o'clock, in the house No. 9; and, from the circumstance of towels, water, and glasses being placed in the passage, he had reason to believe, that Manby had slept there all night.

"In 1805, Bidgood was not with the princess in Hampshire. After the princess returned from Hampshire, Captain Hood used to visit the princess at Blackheath alone, without his wife. Captain Hood used to come about twelve o'clock, and was shewn into the blue-room, where luncheon was ordered, and the princess and the captain were alone together, without a lady or other attendant. He used to stay dinner, and sometimes in boots; about an hour afterwards coffee was ordered; after which the

princess retired, and Captain Hood had also left the room, and had not been let out of the house by any of the servants. Bidgood has not seen Captain Hood since about Christmas last.

"Bidgood has strong suspicions, that Mrs. Sander used to deliver letters to Sicard, which he conceived to be from the princess to Captain Manby, as Sicard used to put the letters into his pocket, and not into the common bag for letters. Mrs. Sander must be fully informed of all the circumstances above alluded to. Mary Wilson, and Miss Mielfield must also know all the circumstances.

"Bidgood has seen the mother, as she is called, of the little boy frequently at Montague-house; the child was about three weeks old when he first saw it. The mother was at Montague-house on Monday last. The husband worked at Deptford-yard; but was discharged, and Stikeman has since employed him at his house in town. The mother appears to be better dressed than usual."

R. Bidgood.

The fifth deponent is Sarah, the wife of the aforementioned Robert Bidgood, in whom nature at her formation must have incorporated an extra modicum of delicacy and modesty. She confirmed the ridiculous story about Fanny Lloyd having told her of Sarah Wilson's fainting, on going into the bed-room to make up the fire, and on seeing Sir Sidney and the princess in such an indecent situation, that, she, poor soul! was so shocked, that she fainted away at the door; but how long she remained in the fit, or by what means she was recovered from it, whether by an application of burnt rags and hartshorn, or

whether the princess and Sir Sidney relinquished their indecent situation, and hastened to her relief, "this deponent saith not."

No copy of the examination of this witness was transmitted with the other papers. It was merely necessary to mention the first part of her examination, as it is enlarged upon in the answer of the princess, and is, therefore, necessary to complete the chain of this most "impartial and unbiassed" evidence.

We proceed in the next place to the examination of Frances Lloyd, which was taken at Ripley in Surrey, and, is dated from the Temple, 12th May, 1806.

Her deposition ran as follows:—

"To the best of my knowledge, Mary Wilson said, that she had seen the princess and Sir Sidney in the blue-room; but she is so close a woman, that she never opens her mouth on any occasion; never heard Mary Wilson say, she was so alarmed as to be in a fit. Heard the gardener at Ramsgate say, one day, at dinner, that he had seen Mr. Sicard and Captain Manby go across the lawn towards a subterraneous passage leading to the sea. When her royal highness was going to the launch, Sir Andrew Hammond and his son came the day before, and dined with her, and in the next morning, about four o'clock, after the doors were open, she saw Captain Manby sitting in the drawing-room of the adjoining house to her royal highness, which room belonged to her. One morning, about six o'clock, she was called to get breakfast for her royal highness, when she saw Captain Manby and her walking in the garden at Ramsgate. Heard from Mrs. Lisle's maid, that the princess when at Lady

Sheffield's, went out of her bed-room, and could not find her way back; but nothing more. About four years ago, as I think, Mr. Mills attended me for a cold, and, in conversation, he asked me if the prince visited at our house? I said not to my knowledge. He said the princess certainly was with child.

"FRANCES LLOYD."

By these declarations, the Prince of Wales was in possession of an assertion of his wife's criminality, and apparently upon that ocular evidence which could not be controverted. If we advert distinctly and separately to each step of the proceedings against her royal highness, from her first landing in this country, to her departure from it, and then during her stay abroad, until her return to it, bursting upon her accusers with all the consciousness and boldness of innocence, we shall find them all tainted with inconsistency, immorality, and illegality; persons in the most menial conditions of life, have been brought forward to depose to facts at variance with every principle of decency and modesty; and which instead of being committed under the veil of darkness and secrecy, were openly performed, like some scene in a modern drama, to be witnessed by whomsoever could find time or opportunity to observe them.

Nor was the principal actor in this drama, one who would meet with a slight or trivial punishment on a discovery of the infamous acts imputed to her; on the contrary, she would be doomed

by the laws of her country to expiate her crime on the scaffold, and to have her name transmitted to the latest posterity, branded with infamy and ignominy. Common sense and reason revolt at the idea, of a female, with the knowledge of the terrible punishment which impended over her on the discovery of the infraction of her matrimonial vow, although in a state of separation from her husband, committing the very act under the eyes and observation of her menial servants. Were not the character alone of the princess a voucher against the ridiculous story vamped up by the Douglas's and their coadjutors, the very circumstances under which they declare the criminality of her royal highness to have been committed, give the lie direct to the whole tissue of their accusations; and this circumstance alone should have had its weight with those who advised the Prince of Wales to lay the declarations of the respective parties before his majesty, and thereby give publicity to an affair which could not but end in their own discomfiture and disgrace. They must have possessed but a very faint knowledge of the noble and upright character of our late revered monarch, and of the general spirit of the English nation, which on no occasion exhibits its fire in such a powerful manner, as in the defence of injured innocence—who could for a moment suppose, that the allegations adduced against her royal highness, would not undergo the most strict and rigorous

examination; and although interest and personal considerations might induce a few to believe her guilty upon the evidence adduced, yet by the reflecting mass of the nation, some other evidence would be required, ere her guilt could be substantiated, than the mere scandalous fictions of a resentful and offended woman, and supported by the testimony of others under the influence of the same passions as herself.

There is one circumstance attending this stage of the proceedings against her royal highness, to which we cannot refrain from adverting, and that is, that on her departure from Carlton-house, she had not the choice of those servants who were to follow her in her solitude; she had not resided long enough under that roof to secure the attachment of any particular servant, or to examine minutely into the character of those whom she might wish to be particularly about her person. Certain individuals were appointed to constitute her establishment, and these will be found with the exception of Mrs. Sanders, who accompanied her royal highness from the continent, to be persons who had been a long time in the service of the Prince of Wales, and who, therefore, were more likely to espouse the cause of the master, in whose service they had lived above twenty years, than the cause of his discarded and rejected wife; they had been too long accustomed to the stiffness and restraint of royalty, not to find in the open, frank and un-

suspecting demeanour of their new mistress, ample grounds to build a fabric of conjecture as to the *plus* and *minus* of her modesty and virtue; and having been, perhaps, previously well drilled as to the part which they were to act, they, like the poisonous spider, spread their web in secret to entrap their unsuspecting victim, in the moment of innocent levity and harmless recreation, and, therefrom, to construct a tissue of deliberate criminality and disgusting familiarity. If, however, her royal highness was unfortunate in the servants who were appointed to attend upon her, she was not less so in the persons, especially the females, by whom she was immediately surrounded on her arrival in this country; some of them were well known, previously to her marriage, to have been in confidential intercourse with her husband, and who, therefore, might be presumed, from obvious motives, to be interested in creating a difference between them. They might, under the mask of friendship, give such advice to the princess respecting her conduct, and particularly her dress, she being a stranger to the modes and manners of this country, which they knew, although innocent in itself, would be disgusting to the prince, and then in secret be the first to represent it to him, with all the exaggerations and amplifications calculated to obtain their object. That much mischief was in this manner effected, is now universally believed and known; and a con-

siderable part of it has been even imputed to the intermeddling of a deceased female of exalted rank, who ought rather to have set the example, knowing, as she did, the opinion of her august husband on the subject, of a sincere endeavour to remove all animosities, and restore harmony between her royal relatives.

We will say a few words upon the legal or moral right which his royal highness enjoyed of instituting any inquiry into the conduct of his discarded spouse. The fear of a disputed succession could alone invest him with it, and that could not find existence when the period of their separation is compared with that when the supposed adulterous connexion took place. On a separation being effected, a formal letter of license, which has been already given in these Memoirs, was written by the prince to the princess; of which the evident meaning must have been, if words be supposed to convey any meaning at all, that whatsoever might be her conduct in the state of separation, in which it was mutually agreed both of them should in future live, it could not be made any subject of complaint by her husband, by whose voluntary act she had been doomed to a state of celibacy.

After this memorable letter, which in regard to the justice of later proceedings, we wish never had been written, to listen to tales of calumny, vamped up on the spur of the moment, and dressed according to the tastes of those who were

to profit by their belief and dissemination—nay, we will even go further, and say, to listen to true representations, had such existed, and, moreover, to institute inquiries respecting the conduct of the princess, when by the very wording of the letter she was absolved from all responsibility to her husband for any part of her future conduct—we do not hesitate to say, is not only unjust and ungenerous, but it is an absolute infraction of a positive and spontaneous engagement.

But how much more surprising and discreditable it is that, under such circumstances, any luminary of the law, or officer of the state, could be found to advise the Prince of Wales to lay the result of such inquiries, abominable and partial as it was, before his majesty. But such was the case, and in consequence of it, his majesty issued his warrant, dated the 29th May, 1806, directed to Lord Erskine, Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough, to inquire into the truth of the allegations contained in them, and to report to him thereon.

The following is a copy of his majesty's warrant:—

GEORGE R.—Whereas our right trusty and well-beloved councillor Thomas Lord Erskine, our chancellor, has this day laid before us an abstract of certain written declarations touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales: We do hereby authorize, empower, and direct, the said Thomas Lord Erskine, our Chancellor; our right

trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor George John Earl Spencer, one of our principal secretaries of state; our right trusty and well-beloved councillor William Wyndham Lord Grenville, first commissioner of our Treasury; and our right trusty and well-beloved councillor Edward Lord Ellenborough, our chief justice, to hold pleas before ourself, to inquire into the truth of the same, and to examine upon oath such persons as they shall see fit touching and concerning the same, and to report to us the result of such examinations.

Given at our Castle of Windsor, on the twenty-ninth day of May, in the forty-sixth year of our reign.

G. R.

The four lords having thus obtained their authority for acting, assembled and called before them such persons as they thought proper, in order to examine them on oath, regarding the matters alleged against the princess.

It is a trite maxim, but a true one, that a liar ought to be possessed of a good memory, and persons who are taught a particular lesson, if they have not studied it closely, or if more has been attempted to be impressed upon their memory than it can possibly retain, will naturally fall into blunders and inconsistencies, which cannot but fail to lead to the detection of a genuine or a fabricated witness. It is on this account that we proceed to give the depositions of the persons examined before the commissioners, and on which depositions their memorable report was founded, and which, in their essential parts, will be found

to be at variance, in many respects, with the depositions given by the same persons examined by Mr. Lowten, and yet they swear to the truth of both.

We proceed, in the first instance, to the deposition of Lady Douglas, and successively to that of the respective parties who were examined before the commissioners.

DEPOSITION OF CHARLOTTE LADY DOUGLAS.

I think I first became acquainted with the Princess of Wales in 1801. Sir John Douglas had a house at Blackheath. One day in November, 1801, the snow was lying on the ground, the princess and a lady, who I believe was Miss Heyman, came on foot and walked several times before the door. Lady Stewart was with me, and said she thought the princess wanted something, and that I ought to go to her. I went to her; she said she did not want any thing, but she would walk in; that I had a very pretty little girl. She came in, and stayed some time. About a fortnight after, Sir John Douglas and I received an invitation to go to Montague-house. After that I was very frequently at Montague-house, and dined there: the princess dined frequently with us. About May or June, 1802, the princess first talked with me about her own conduct.

Sir Sidney Smith, who had been Sir John's friend for more than twenty years, came to England about November, 1801, and came to live in our house. I understood that the princess knew Sir Sidney Smith before she was Princess of Wales. The princess saw Sir Sidney Smith as frequently as ourselves. We were usually kept at Montague-house later then the rest of the party; often till three or four

o'clock in the morning. I never observed any impropriety of conduct between Sir Sidney Smith and the princess.

I made the princess a visit at Montague-house in March 1802, for about a fortnight. She desired me come there because Miss Garth was ill. In May or June following, the Princess came to my house alone; she said she came to tell me something that had happened to her, and desired me to guess. I guessed several things, and at last I said I could not guess any thing more. She then said that she was pregnant, and that the child had come to life. I don't know whether she said on that day, or a few days before, that she was at breakfast at Lady Willoughby's, that the milk flowed up to her breast, and came through her gown; that she threw a napkin over herself, and went with Lady Willoughby into her room and adjusted herself, to prevent its being observed. She never told me who was the father of the child. She said she hoped it would be a boy. She said that if it was discovered, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit of being the father, for she had slept two nights at Carlton-house within the year. I said that I should go abroad to my Mother. The Princess said that she should manage it very well; and if things came to the worst, she would give the Prince the credit of it.

While I was at Montague-house in March, I was with child, and one day I said that I was very sick, and the Princess desired Mrs. Sander to get me a saline draught. She then said that she was very sick herself, and that she would take a saline draught too. I observed that she could not want one, and I looked at her. The Princess said, Yes I do; what do you look at me for, with your wicked eyes? you are always finding me out. Mrs. Sander looked very much distressed; she gave us a saline draught each. This was the first time that I had any sus-

picion of her being with child. The Princess never said who was the father. When she first told me she was with child, I rather suspected that Sir Sidney was the father, but only because the Princess was very partial to him. I never knew that he was with her alone.

We had constant intercourse with the Princess, from the time when I was at Montague-house till the end of October. After that she had first communicated to me that she was with child, she frequently spoke upon the subject. She was bled twice during the time. She recommended to me to be bled too, and said that it made you have a better time. Mr. Edmeades bled her. She said one of the days that Mr. Edmeades bled her, that she had a violent heat in her blood, and that Mr. Edmeades should bleed her. I told the princess I was very anxious how she would manage to be brought to bed without its being known; that I hoped she had a safe person. She said yes, she should have a person from abroad; that she had a great horror of having any man about her on such an occasion. She said, "I am confident in my own plans, and I wish you would not speak with me on that subject again." She said, "I shall tell every thing to Sander." I think this was on the day on which she told me of what had happened at Lady Willoughby's. That Sander was a very good woman, and might be trusted, and that she must be with her at the labour; that she would send Miss Gouch to Brunswick; and Miss Millfield was too young to be trusted, and must be sent out of the way.

I was brought to bed on the 23d of July, 1802; the princess insisted on being present; I determined that she should not, but I meant to avoid it without offending her. On the day on which I was brought to bed, she came to my house, and insisted on coming in; Dr. Mackie, who attended me, locked the door, and said she should not come

m; but there was another door on the opposite side of the room, which was not locked, and she came in at that door, and *was present during the time of the labour*, and *took the child as soon as it was born*, and said that she was very glad that she had seen the whole of it. The princess's pregnancy appeared to me to be very visible; she wore a cushion behind, and she made Mrs. Sander make one for me. During my lying-in the Princess came one day with Mrs. Fitzgerald; she sent Mrs. Fitzgerald away, and took a chair and sat by my bed-side. She said, "You will hear of my taking children in baskets, but you wont take any notice of it; I shall have them brought by a poor woman in a basket; I shall do it as a cover to have my own brought to me in that way," or "that is the way in which I must have my own brought when I have it."

Very soon after this, two children, who were twins, were brought by a poor woman in a basket. The princess took them and had them carried up into her room, and the princess washed them herself. The princess told me this herself. The father, a few days afterwards, came and insisted upon having the children, and they were given to him. The princess afterwards said to me, You see I took the children, and it answered very well; the father had got them back, and she could not blame him; that she should take other children, and should have quite a nursery.

I saw the princess on a Sunday, either the 30th or 31st of October, 1802, walking before her door. She was dressed so as to conceal her pregnancy; she had a long cloak, and a very great muff. She had just returned from Greenwich Church; she looked very ill, and I thought must be very near her time. About a week, or nine or ten days after this, I received a note from the princess, to desire that I would not come to Montague-house, for they were apprehensive that the children she had taken had the measles

in their clothes, and that she was afraid my child might take it.

When the princess came to see me during my lying-in, she told me that when she should be brought to bed, she wished I would not come to her for some time, for she might be confused in seeing me.

About the end of December, I went to Gloucestershire, and stayed there about a month. When I returned, which was in January, I went to Montague-house, and was let in. The princess was packing up something in a black box. Upon the sofa a child was lying, covered with a piece of red cloth. The princess got up and took me by the hand; she then led me to the sofa, and said, "There is the child, I had him only two days after I saw you." The words were, either, "I had him," or, "I was brought to bed." The words were such as clearly imported that it was her own child. She said she got very well through it. She shewed me a mark on the child's hand; it is a pink mark. The princess said, "he has a mark like your little girl." I saw the child afterwards frequently with the princess, quite till Christmas, 1803, when I left Blackheath. I saw the mark upon the child's hand, and I am sure that it was the same child. I never saw any other child there. Princess Charlotte used to see the child, and play with him. The child used to call the Princess of Wales Mamma. I saw the child looking at the window of the princess's house about a month ago, before the princess went into Devonshire, and I am sure that it was the same child. Not long after I had first seen the child, the princess said that she had the child at first to sleep with her for a few nights, but it made her nervous, and now they had got a regular nurse for her. She said, "We gave it a little milk at first, but it was too much for me, and now we breed it by hand, and it does very well."

I can swear positively that the child I saw at the window is the same child as the princess told me she had two days after she parted with me. The child was called William. I never heard that it had any other name. When the child was in long clothes, we breakfasted one day with the princess, and she said to Sir John Douglas, "This is the Deptford Boy." Independently of the princess's confessions to me, I can swear that she was pregnant in 1802. In October, 1804, when we returned from Devonshire, I left my card at Montague-house, and on the 4th of October I received a letter from Mrs. Vernon, desiring me not to come any more to Montague-house. I had never at this time mentioned the princess's being with child, or being delivered of a child, to any person, not even to Sir John Douglas.

After receiving Mrs. Vernon's letter, I wrote to the princess on the subject. The letter was sent back unopened. I then wrote to Mrs. Fitzgerald, saying, that I thought myself extremely ill-used. In two or three days after this I received an anonymous letter, which I produce, and have marked with the letter A,* and signed with my name both on the letter and the envelope.

The Princess of Wales has told me that she got a bedfellow whenever she could; that nothing was more wholesome. She said that nothing was more convenient than her room; "it stands at the head of the staircase which leads into the Park, and I have bolts in the inside, and have a bedfellow whenever I like. I wonder you can be satisfied only with Sir John." She has said this more than once. She has told me that Sir Sidney Smith had lain with her; that she believed all men liked a bedfellow, but

* No copy of this letter has been sent to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Sir Sidney better than any body else; that the prince was the most complaisant man in the world; that she did what she liked, went where she liked, and had what bedfellows she liked, and the prince paid for all.

CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.

Sworn before us, June 1, 1806, at Lord Grenville's, in Downing-street, Westminster.

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true Copy, *J. Becket*

DEPOSITION OF SIR JOHN DOUGLAS, KNT.

I HAD a house at Blackheath in 1801. Sir Sidney used to come to my house. I had a bed for him. The Princess of Wales formed an acquaintance with Lady Douglas, and came frequently to our house. I thought she came more for Sir Sidney Smith than for us. After she had been some time acquainted with us, she appeared to me to be with child. One day she leaned on the sofa, and put her hand upon her stomach, and said, "Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England." I said, "Not if you don't deserve it." She seemed angry at first. In 1804, on the 27th of October, I received two letters by the two-penny post, one addressed to me, which I now produce, and have marked with the letter (B)* both on the envelope and the enclosure and the other letter addressed to Lady

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* No copy of these letters, or either of them, has been sent to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Douglas, and which I now produce, and have marked with the letter (C) both on the envelope and the enclosure.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

Sworn before us at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, June the first, 1806.

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF ROBERT BIDGOOD.

I HAVE lived with the prince twenty-three years in next September. I went to the princess in March, 1798, and have lived with her Royal Highness ever since. About the year 1802, early in that year, I first observed Sir Sidney Smith come to Montague-house. He used to stay very late at night. I have seen him early in the morning there, about ten or eleven o'clock. He was at Sir J. Douglas's, and was in the habit, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, of dining or having luncheon, or supping there almost every day. I saw Sir Sidney Smith one day in 1802, in the blue-room, about eleven o'clock in the morning, which is full two hours before we expected ever to see company. I asked the servants why they did not let me know that he was there. The footman informed me that they had let no person in. There was a private door to the Park by which he might have come in if he had a key to it, and have got into the blue-room without any of the servants perceiving him. I never observed any appearance of the princess, which could lead me to suppose she was with child.

I first observed Captain Manby come to Montague-house, either the end of 1803, or beginning of 1804. I was waiting one day in the ante-room, Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away. He was a long time with the Princess, and as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and in the reflection in the looking-glass I saw them salute each other. I mean that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room.

The princess went to Southend in May, 1804. He went with her. We were there, I believe, about six weeks before the Africaine came in. Sicard was very often watching with a glass to see when the ship would arrive. One day, he said, he saw the Africaine, and soon after the Captain put off in a boat from the ship. Sicard went down the shrubbery to meet him. When the Captain came on shore, Sicard conducted him to the princess's house, and he dined there with the princess and her ladies. After this he came very frequently to see the princess. The princess had two houses on the Cliff, Nos. 8 and 9. She afterwards took the drawing-room of No. 7, which communicated by the balcony with No. 8. The three houses being adjoining, the princess used to dine in No. 8, and after dinner to remove with the company into No. 7, and I have several times seen the princess, after having gone into No. 7, with Captain Manby and the rest of the company, retire alone with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, into No. 9, which was the house in which the princess slept. I suspected that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house. It was a subject of conversation in the house. Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself.

The princess took a child, which I understand was brought into the house by Stikeman. I waited only one week in three, and I was not there at the time the child was brought, but I saw it there early in 1803. The child who is now with the princess is the same as I saw there early in 1803. It has a mark in its left hand. Austin is the name of the man who was said to be the father. Austin's wife is, I believe, still alive. She has had another child, and has brought it sometimes to Montague-house. It is very like the child who lives with the princess. Mrs. Gosden was employed as a nurse to the child, and she used to bring the child to the princess as soon as the princess woke, and the child used to stay with her Royal Highness the whole morning. The princess appeared to be extremely fond of the child, and still appears so.

R. BIDGOOD.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing-street the sixth day of June, 1806.

SPENCER,
GRENVILLE.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM COLE.

I HAVE lived with the Princess of Wales ever since her marriage. Sir Sidney Smith first visited at Montague-house about 1802. I have observed the princess too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith. One day, I think about February in that year, the princess ordered some sandwiches, I carried them in the blue-room to her. Sir Sidney Smith was there. I was surprised to see him there—he must have come in from the Park. If he had been let in from Blackheath, he must have passed through the room in which I was waiting. When I had left the sandwiches, I returned

after some time into the room, and Sir Sidney Smith was sitting very close to the princess on the sofa. I looked at him, and at her Royal Highness. She caught my eye, and saw that I noticed the manner in which they were sitting together. They appeared both a little confused when I came into the room. A short time before this, one night about twelve o'clock, I saw a man go into the house from the Park, wrapt up in a great coat. I did not give any alarm, for the impression on my mind was, that it was not a thief.

Soon after I had seen the princess and Sir Sidney Smith sitting together on the sofa, the Duke of Kent sent for me, and told me that the princess would be very glad if I would do the duty in town, because she had business to do in town, which she would rather trust to me than any body else. The duke said that the princess had thought it would be more agreeable to me to be told this by him than through Sicard. After this I never attended at Montague-house but occasionally when the princess sent for me.

About July, 1802, I observed that the princess had grown very large; and in the latter end of the same year she appeared to be grown thin, and I observed it to Miss Sander, who said that the princess was much thinner than she had been. I had not any idea of the princess being with child.

Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague-house about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting the princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the princess at eleven and twelve o'clock at night. He has been there as late as one and two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw him with the princess in the blue-room, after the ladies had retired. Some time afterwards, when I supposed that he had gone to his room, I went to see that

all was safe, and I found the blue-room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and I went away.

WM. COLE.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the sixth day of June, 1806, before us,

SPENCER,
GRENVILLE.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF FRANCES LLOYD.

I HAVE lived twelve years with the Princess of Wales next October. I am in the coffee-room. My situation in the coffee-room does not give me opportunities of seeing the princess. I don't see her sometimes for months. Mr. Mills attended me for a cold. He asked me if the prince came to Blackheath, backwards and forwards, or something to that effect, for the princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child. This must have been three or four years ago. It may have been five years ago. I think it must have been some time before the child was brought to the princess. I remember the child being brought. It was brought into my room. I had orders sent to me to give the mother arrow root, with directions how to make it, to wean the child, and I gave it to the mother, and she took the child away. Afterwards the mother brought the child back again. Whether it was a week, ten days, or a fortnight, I cannot say, but it might be about that time. The second time the mother brought the child, she brought it into my room. I asked her, how a mother could part with her child. I am not sure which time I asked this. The mother cried, and said she could not afford to keep it. The child was said to be about four months old when it was brought. I did not particularly observe it myself.

FRANCES LLOYD.

I was at Ramsgate with the princess in 1803. One morning when we were in the house at East-Cliff, some body, I don't recollect who, knocked at my door, and desired me to get up to prepare breakfast for the princess. This was about six o'clock. I was asleep. During the whole time I was in the princess's service, I had never been called up before to make breakfast for the princess. I slept in the housekeeper's room on the ground floor. I opened the shutters of the window for light. I knew at that time that Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. When I opened the shutters, I saw the princess walking down the garden with a gentleman. She was walking down the gravel walk towards the sea. No orders had been given me over night to prepare breakfast early. The gentleman the princess was walking with, was a tall man. I was surprised to see the princess walking with a gentleman, at that time in the morning. I am sure it was the princess.

While we were at Blackheath, a woman at Charlton, of the name of Townley, told me she had some linen to wash from the princess's house. That the linen was marked with the appearance of • • • • • • • . The woman has since left Charlton, but she has friends there. I think it must have been before the child was brought to the princess, that the woman told us this. I know all the women in the princess's house. I don't think that any of them were in a state of pregnancy, and if any had, I think I must have known it.

I never told Cole that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the princess to be in the library, had gone into the princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the princess; or that there was a great to-do about it, and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen.

FRANCES LLOYD.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806, before us,

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF MARY ANN WILSON.

I BELIEVE it will be ten years next quarter that I have lived with the Princess of Wales, as housemaid, I wait on the ladies who attend the princess. I remember when the child, who is now with the princess, was brought there. Before it came I heard say it was to come. The mother brought the child. It appeared to be about four months old when it was brought. I remember twins being brought to the princess, before this child was brought. I never noticed the princess's shape to be different in that year from what it was before. I never had a thought that the princess was with child. I have heard it reported. It is a good while ago. I never myself suspected her being with child. I think she could not have been with child, and have gone on to her time without my knowing it.

I was at Southend with the princess.—Captain Manby used to visit the princess there. I make the princess's bed, and have been in the habit of making it ever since I lived with Her Royal Highness. Another maid, whose name is Ann Bye, assisted with me in making the bed. From what I observed, I had never had any reason to believe that two persons had slept in the bed. I never saw any particular appearance in it. The linen was washed by Stikeman's wife.

MARY WILSON.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806, before us,

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF SAMUEL ROBERTS.

I AM a footman to the Princess of Wales. I remember the child being taken by the princess. I never observed any particular appearance of the princess in that year—nothing that led me to believe that she was with child. Sir Sidney Smith used to visit the princess at Blackheath. I never saw him alone with the princess. He never stayed after eleven o'clock. I recollect Mr. Cole once asking me, I think three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family. I remember saying, that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than other persons. I never knew Sir Sidney Smith stay later than the ladies. I cannot say exactly at what hour he went, but I never remember him staying alone with the princess.

SAMUEL ROBERTS.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806, before us,

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF THOMAS STIKEMAN.

I HAVE been page to the Princess of Wales ever since she has been in England. When I first saw the child who

is with the Princess, it is about four years ago. Her Royal Highness had a strong desire to have an infant, which I and all the house knew. I heard there was a woman who had twins, one of which the princess was desirous to have, but the parents would not part with it. A woman came to the door with a petition to get her husband re-placed in the Dock Yard, who had been removed. She had a child with her. I took the child, I believe, and shewed it to Mrs. Sander. I then returned the child to the woman, and made inquiries after the father, and afterwards desired the woman to bring the child again to the house, which she did. The child was taken to the princess. After the princess had seen it, she desired the woman to take it again and bring it back in a few days, and Mrs. Sander was desired to provide linen for it.

Within a few days the child was brought again by the mother, and was left, and has been with the Princess ever since. I don't recollect the child had any mark; but upon reflection I do recollect the mother said he was marked with elder wine on the hand. The father of the child, whose name is Austin, lives with me at Pimlico. My wife is a laundress, and washed the linen of the prince. Austin is employed to turn a mangle for me. The child was born in Brownlow-street, and it was baptized there; but I only know this from the mother. The mother has since lain-in a second time in Brownlow-street. I never saw the woman to my knowledge before she came with the petition to the door. I had no particular directions by the princess to procure a child. I thought it better to take the child of persons of good character, than the child of a pauper. Nothing led me from the appearance of the princess, to suppose that she was with child, but from her shape it is difficult to judge when she is with child. When she was with child of the Princess Charlotte, I should not have

known it when she was far advanced in her time, if I had not been told it.

Sir Sidney Smith at one time visited very frequently at Montague-house, two or three times a week. At the time the princess was altering her rooms in the Turkish style, Sir Sidney Smith's visits were very frequent. The princess consulted him upon them. Mr. Morell was the upholsterer. Sir Sidney Smith came frequently alone. He stayed alone with the princess sometimes till eleven o'clock at night. He has been there till twelve o'clock, and after, I believe alone with the princess. The princess is of that lively vivacity, that she makes herself familiar with gentlemen, which prevented my being struck with his staying so late. I do not believe that at that time any other gentleman visited the princess so frequently, or stayed so late. I have seen the princess when they were alone sitting with Sir Sidney Smith on the same sofa in the blue-room. I had access to the blue-room at all times. There was an inner room which opened into the blue-room. When that room was not lighted up, I did not go into it, and did not consider that I had a right to go into it.

I had no idea on what account I was brought here. I did not know that the princess's conduct was questioned or questionable. I was with the princess at Ramsgate. When she was at East Cliff, Captain Manby was very frequently there; went away as late at night as eleven o'clock. I don't remember Fanny Lloyd being called up any morning to make breakfast for the princess. I did not like Captain Manby coming so often, and staying so late, and I was uneasy at it. I remember a piece of plate, a silver lamp, being sent to Captain Manby. I saw it in Sicard's possession. He told me it was for Captain Manby, and he had a letter to send with it. I have never seen Captain Manby at the princess's at Ramsgate before nine

o clock in the morning, but I have heard he has been there earlier. I had never any suspicions of there being any thing improper, either from the frequent visits of Captain Manby, or from his conduct.

I was at Catherington with the princess. She used to go out generally in her own chaise. I think I have once or twice seen her go with Mr. Hood in his one-horse chaise. They have been out for two hours, or two hours and a half, together.

I believe only a day or two elapsed between the time the child was first brought, and being then brought back again, and left with the princess. I am sure the child was not weaned after it had been first brought. I don't recollect any gentleman ever sleeping in the house. I don't remember Lawrence the painter ever sleeping there. The princess seems very fond of the child. It is always called William Austin.

THOMAS STIKEMAN.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806, before us,

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true Copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF JOHN SICARD.

I HAVE lived seven years with the Princess of Wales, am house-steward, and have been in that situation from the end of six months after I first lived with her royal highness. I remember the child who is now with the Princess of Wales being brought there. It was about five months old when it was brought. It is about four years ago, just before we went to Ramsgate. I had not the least suspicion of the

object of my being brought here. I had opportunity of seeing the princess frequently. I waited on her at dinner and supper. I never observed that the princess had the appearance of being with child. I think it was hardly possible that she should have been with child without my perceiving it.

Sir Sidney Smith used to visit very frequently at Montague-house in 1802, with Sir John and Lady Douglas. He was very often, I believe, alone with the princess, and so was Mr. Canning, and other gentlemen. I cannot say that I ever suspected Sir Sidney Smith of any improper conduct with the princess. I never had any suspicion of the princess acting improperly with Sir Sidney Smith or any other gentleman.

I remember Captain Manby visiting at Montague-house. The Princess of Wales did not pay for the expense of fitting up his cabin, but the linen furniture was ordered by me, by direction of the princess, of Newberry and Jones. It was put by Newberry and Jones in the princess's bill, and was paid for with the rest of the bill by Miss Heyman.

JOHN SICARD.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806, before us,

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket*.

DEPOSITION OF CHARLOTTE SANDER.

I HAVE lived with the Princess of Wales eleven years. I am a native of Brunswick, and came with the princess from Brunswick. The princess has a little boy living with her under her protection. He had a mark on his hand,

but it is worn off. I first saw him four years ago, in the autumn. The father and mother of the child are still alive. I have seen them both. The father worked in the Dock Yard at Deptford, but has now lost the use of his limbs. The father's name is Austin. The mother brought the child to the princess when he was four months old. I was present when the child was brought to the princess. She was in her own room up stairs when the child was brought. She came out and took the child herself; I understood that the child was expected before it was brought. I am sure that I never saw the child in the house before it appeared to be four months old.

The princess was not ill or indisposed in the autumn of 1802. I was dresser to her royal highness. She could not be ill or indisposed without my knowing it. I am sure that she was not confined to her room or to her bed in that autumn. There was not to my knowledge any other child in the house. It was hardly possible there could have been a child there without my knowing it. I have no recollection that the princess had grown bigger in the year 1802 than usual. I am sure the princess was not pregnant. Being her dresser, I must have seen if she was. I solemnly and positively swear I have no reason to know or believe that the Princess of Wales has been at any time pregnant during the time I have lived with her royal highness at Montague-house. I may have said to Cole that the princess was grown much thinner, but I don't recollect that I did. I never heard any body say any thing about the princess being pregnant till I came here to-day. I did not expect to be asked any question to-day respecting the princess being pregnant. Nobody came over to the princess from Germany in the autumn of 1802 to my knowledge. Her royal highness was generally blooded twice in a year, but not lately.

I never had any reason to suppose that the princess

received the visits of any gentlemen at improper hours. Sir Sidney Smith visited her frequently, and almost daily. He was there very late, sometimes till two o'clock in the morning. I never saw Sir Sidney Smith in a room alone with the princess late at night. I never saw any thing which led me to suppose that Sir Sidney Smith was on a very familiar footing with the Princess of Wales.

I attended the Princess of Wales to Southend. She had two houses, No. 9, and No. 8. I knew Captain Manby. He commanded the Africaine. He visited the princess. While his ship was there, he was frequently with the princess. I don't know or believe, and I have no reason to believe, that Captain Manby staid till very late hours with the princess. I never suspected that there was any improper familiarity between them. I never expressed to any body a wish that Captain Manby's visits were not so frequent. If the princess had company, I was never present. The princess was at Ramsgate in 1803. I have seen Captain Manby there frequently. He came to the princess's house to dinner. He never stayed till late at night at the princess's house.

I was in Devonshire with the princess lately. There was no one officer that she saw when she was in Devonshire more than the rest. I never heard from the princess that she apprehended her conduct was questioned. When I was brought here, I thought I might be questioned respecting the princess's conduct, and I was sorry to come. I don't know why I thought so. I never saw any thing in the conduct of the princess while I lived with her, which would have made me uneasy if I had been her husband. When I was at Southend I dined in the steward's-room. I can't say whether I ever heard any body in the steward's-room say any thing about the Captain, meaning Captain Manby. It is so long ago I may have forgot it. I have seen Captain Manby alone with the princess at No. 9, in the drawing-

room at Southend. I have seen it only once or twice. It was at two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and never later. I slept in a room next to the princess in the house No. 9, at Southend. I never saw Captain Manby in any part of that house but the drawing-room. I have no reason to believe he was in any other room in the house.

I was at Catherington with the princess. She was at Mr. Hood's house. I never saw any familiarity between her and Mr. Hood. I have seen her drive out in Mr. Hood's carriage with him alone. It was a gig. They used to be absent for several hours. A servant of the princess attended them. I have delivered packets by the order of the princess, which she gave me sealed up, to Sicard, to be by him forwarded to Captain Manby.

The birth-day of the child who lives with the princess is the 21st of July, as his mother told me. She says that he was christened at Deptford. The child had a mark on the hand. The mother told me that it was from red wine. I believe the child came to the princess in November.

C. SANDER.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the seventh day of June 1806.

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

DEPOSITION OF SOPHIA AUSTIN.

I KNOW the child which is now with the princess of Wales. I am the mother of it. I was delivered of it four years ago the 11th of July next, at Brownlow-street hospital. I have lain-in there three times. William, who is with the princess, is the second child I laid-in of there. It was marked in the right hand with red wine. My husband was a

labourer in the Dock-yard at Deptford. When peace was proclaimed, a number of the workmen were discharged, and my husband was one who was discharged. I went to the princess with a petition on a Saturday, to try to get my husband restored. I lived at that time at Deptford New-row, No. 7, with a person of the name of Bearblock. He was a milkman.

The day I went to the princess with the petition, was a a fortnight before the 6th of November. Mr. Bennet, a baker in New-street, was our dealer, and I took the child to Mr. Bennet's when I went to receive my husband's wages every week, from the time I left the hospital till I carried the child to the princess. I knew Mr. Stikeman only by having seen him once before, when I went to apply for a letter to Brownlow-street hospital. When I went to Montague-house, I desired Mr. Stikeman to present my petition. He said they were denied to do such things, but seeing me with a baby he could do no less. He then took the child from me, and was a long time gone. He then brought me back the child, and brought half-a-guinea which the ladies sent me. He said if the child had been younger, he could have got it taken care of for me, but desired that I would come up again. I went up again on the Monday following, and I saw Mr. Stikeman; Mr. Stikeman afterwards came several times to us, and appointed me to take the child to Montague-house on the 5th of November, but it rained all day, and I did not take it. Mr. Stikeman came down to me on the Saturday, the 6th of November, and I took the child on that day to the princess's house. The princess was out, I waited till she returned; she saw the child, and asked its age. I went down into the coffee-room, and they gave me some arrow-root to wean the child, for I was suckling the child at this same time, and when I had weaned the child, I was to bring it and leave it with the princess. I did wean the child, and brought it to the

princess's house on the 15th of November, and left it there, and it has been with the princess's ever since. I saw the child last Whit-Monday, and I swear that it is my child.

SOPHIA AUSTIN.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing-street, the seventh day of June, 1806.

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH

A true Copy, *J. Becket.*

Their lordships having gone through the preceding depositions, made, agreeably to the warrant under which they acted, the following Report to his Majesty:—

May it please your Majesty,—Your Majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your Majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to "authorize, empower, and direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your Majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to your Majesty the result of such examinations." We have, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your Majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave, at the same time, humbly to refer your Majesty, for more complete informa-

tion, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment, into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary information of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess. That these statements not only imputed to her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important fact, viz.—That her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child; which child had, ever since that period, been brought up by her Royal Highness, in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation in which his Royal Highness was placed, by these communications, we learnt that his Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of con-

cern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your Majesty's crown.

Your Majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them. On this review, therefore of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated; because if they, on being examined upon oath had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife: who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness; and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive. The most material of these allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question. We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this

course of inquiry, many particulars must be learned which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess, that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject. This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

The identity of the child, now with the princess, its parentage, the place and date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these

two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest, by an unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on ful. deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole inquiry. We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations. From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question. On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom; but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts: that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited till they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report, without humbly assuring

your Majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty's permission to express our full persuasion that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us. All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty.

ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

July 14, 1806.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

On the perusal of this report, the following reflections present themselves to our consideration. The struggle between principle and duty, between interest and inclination, is palpable throughout this most extraordinary document. The obvious duty of the Whig ministry would have been to represent to his majesty the unconstitutional nature of such a commission, and to decline its appointment; and, at the same time, to state to his majesty, that as even supposing the allegations against the Princess of Wales to have been founded on truth, the succession to the throne could not be thereby affected, the matter ought not to be considered or treated as an affair of the state; and that in regard to what was personal to the Prince of Wales, his royal highness, if he was precluded by the advice which had been given to his majesty, from bringing the matter forward in that shape, he had still the alternative, if he judged it discreet and advisable

(considering, at the same time, the evidence to be sufficient) to institute legal proceedings as a subject in the usual form. Such would have been an honest, an open, an honourable and constitutional mode of proceeding. Instead, however, of adopting this plan, the Whig ministers advise his majesty to direct an inquiry into Lady Douglas's farrago of calumnies, by four commissioners of their own body, with the knowledge which must have been strongly impressed upon their minds, at the same time, that such an inquiry could not be attended with any beneficial result. Indeed we find in a minute of council, dated January 26, 1807, and which will be found in its proper place, the commissioners upon experiencing the effects of the dilemma in which they had involved themselves by such an illegal proceeding, making the following confession or declaration to his majesty :—

And they beg leave with all humility to represent to your majesty, that the laws and constitution of their country have not placed them in a situation in which they can conclusively pronounce on any question of guilt or innocence affecting any of your majesty's subjects, much less one of your majesty's royal family. They have, indeed, no power or authority whatever to enter on such a course of inquiry as could alone lead to any final result of such a nature.

Why, then, may it be asked, did they enter with their eyes open upon the duties of a commission, which they acknowledge themselves

could not lead to any final result—that is, to the *result desired?*—and what that result was, does not require the powers of divination to determine. It was an actual work of supererogation; and after all the labour had been completed, the sapient commissioners would have found that their whole fabric rested on a foundation of sand, which the slightest breath would overthrow in a moment.

The following paragraph, extracted from the Report, will, however, perhaps explain this paradox in the conduct of the commissioners.

"In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by the communications," made to him by Lady Douglas, at his own particular desire, "we learnt that his royal highness had adopted the ONLY course, which could, in our judgment, *with propriety* be followed."

This, indeed, was a most sapient declaration; but would not the propriety have been greater, and would not the whole affair have carried a more magnanimous complexion, if the whole declaration of the Douglas's had been treated with contempt, which, if it could possibly be true, no woman of decent habits, feelings, or moral principle, would have made, but upon compulsion; rather than permanently to sacrifice (for it was not risking, but positively sacrificing,) the peace of the royal family, and, perhaps, eventually the tranquillity of the country. Would not this have been by far the better mode of consulting the honour of the royal family, and of insuring the

tranquillity of the country; for both would have been sufficiently consulted, by an appeal, on the part of his royal highness, to the ordinary courts of law—for no great apprehension need have been entertained that those courts would have acquitted her royal highness, if her guilt could have been established on positive and uncontradictory evidence; whilst, on the other hand, they afforded the only channel through which her innocence might be made formally to appear, the public having but little estimation of a mere reception at court as a criterion of virtue, and the acquittal or conviction of an unauthorized tribunal, must be equally indifferent to them. Whatever, however, might have been the intention, the effect of the unconstitutional and *exparte* mode of proceeding which was resorted to, would have been to convict the princess in the public mind, and to expose her to the penalties of criminality, although innocent, if the public had not had more correct notions of justice, and fewer inducements to deviate from its course, than any administration whatsoever.

The Report states, with respect to the main charges—

We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would war-

rant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

The identity of the child, now with the princess, its parentage, the place and date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit.

This is their clear and unanimous judgment, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.

But we are now called upon to notice a very extraordinary, inconsistent, and unjustifiable part of this report.

Towards the close, we find the following dark insinuations respecting the conduct of her royal highness:

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and

report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations. From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

We think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited till they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

Before, however, we proceed to shew that this censure which would have been unjustifiable, if the witnesses had been even worthy of credit, was actually founded on the evidence of persons who had decidedly shewn an unfavourable bias, and whose testimony was not, on the points in question, any more than on the pregnancy and delivery, entitled to the smallest belief, we shall contrast the opinion of the Whig ministers, just quoted, with that of the administration which succeeded them, taken from a minute of council, dated April 21, 1807.

"And they further submit to your majesty their unanimous opinion, that all the other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the

character of criminality can be ascribed, are either satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it in the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

The minute was signed—

ELDON,	BATHURST,
CAMDEN,	CASTLEREAGH,
WESTMORELAND,	MULGRAVE,
PORTLAND,	CANNING,
CHATHAM,	HAWKESBURY.

This enumeration of names is important at this moment, as it will serve to shew how readily Tories can become Whigs, and Whigs Tories, according as it suits the purposes of their ambition and lust of power. They have, in respect to her majesty, changed sides several times, and she was alternately made the sacrifice of both the factions. In 1806, she was criminated by the Whigs, and vindicated by the Tories. By these she was ably defended, whilst her cause served them as a ladder to elevate themselves into place and power; and having obtained the object of their ambition, she was betrayed, and left, as it were upon an ocean of difficulties, without helm or pilot to steer her into a port of safety. The very men who, in 1807, came into office, in order that her defence, which would have overwhelmed her enemies with confusion, should not be published, are, in 1820, to be found amongst her most inve-

terate accusers, whilst the Whigs watch the opportunity of supplanting their political opponents.

We will now examine the evidence upon which the censure of the Whigs was founded, as pronounced in their Report of 1806, in order that its unfairness and its impartiality may be thoroughly evinced.

The Whig commissioners ought to have declared and pronounced every one of the charges equally unfounded as they did the pregnancy and delivery; seeing that it was apparent to every one, from the slightest examination of the evidence, that not the least degree of credibility belonged to the witnesses. We have already adverted to the remarkable circumstance that these charges were not brought forward until four years after the imputed acts of criminality were alleged to have been committed, and after the principal actors in the tragico-farcico drama, the Douglas's, had been literally expelled the presence of her royal highness. That these Douglas's were perjured in their evidence which they gave before the commissioners, is very clear, since that evidence was in all its material facts contradicted even by those very witnesses who were otherwise sufficiently adverse to her royal highness. So great and overpowering, so positively undeniable is the precision of Lady Douglas, that she infers by a manner of reasoning peculiar to herself, that the 1st day of November, 1802, must have been the period of the princess's delivery; although

not a single individual of the whole household of the princess knew any thing of the matter. In fact, according to the testimony of this most "unbiassed witness," the delivery of a female of the exalted rank of her royal highness, and with the eyes of an Argus constantly upon her, could be consummated without a general discovery; and that it could be passed over as one of the common occurrences of the day. Mrs. Fitzgerald, who was almost constantly with the princess; Mrs. Lisle, who was in attendance two months previous to the 1st November; Mrs. Sander, who dressed her; Mary Wilson, who made her bed; John Sicard, who attended her at dinner and supper; all the other attendants, even William Cole and Robert Bidgood, men of above twenty years standing in the service of the Prince of Wales, and who appear to have been sufficiently vigilant in observing the conduct of their mistress, and who saw the most wondrous and extraordinary things, which it is most wondrous and extraordinary also that they should make any impression upon them at all, knowing, as we do, the school in which they were educated, and the masters by whom they were drilled; all these worthies knew not, nor ever surmised, any thing relative to the pregnancy or delivery. The two latter witnesses, (the Majocchi and the Sacchi of the former conspiracy,) although they affect to discredit the account of the parentage of the boy Austin, still acknowledge with the remainder of the prin-

cess's household, that they never entertained any suspicion of her royal highness's pregnancy. And it is very remarkable, that Bidgood, who makes strong insinuations on this point, deposes nevertheless that Austin's wife has another child which she has sometimes brought to Montague-house, and *that is very like the child who lives with the princess.* Now in order to be consistent, and to act in character with all perjured witnesses, who by attempting to prove too much generally falsify every tittle of their evidence, he ought to have insinuated that her royal highness had been delivered of twins, or that by some particular miracle of nature, one delivery succeeded the other, in rather a shorter period than is generally allowed to the procreation of the human race; which was to be ascribed to, and could not be ascribed to any other cause, than the extreme warmth of temperament of her royal highness. It was as easy to make her the mother of this child as it was of the boy William, and we make no doubt that had he set his imagination to work, he would have discovered the same means of proving it as were employed in proving that the succession to the throne of England was endangered by Mrs. Austin, spouse of William Austin, labourer, of Deptford, having been brought to bed of a son, and that son having been almost immediately upon its birth adopted by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; thereby laying the foundation of another pretender to the throne of England, and

heir-apparent. Private malice, and individual resentments, however diabolical, must be deemed unequal of themselves to the production of a conspiracy, for which, if detected, the penalty would be that of treason. The inevitable conclusion, therefore follows, that Sir John and Lady Douglas must have received some secret instigation—some present, or hope of future reward, as well as the assurance of protection.

We will now proceed to the investigation of the other charges of the Whig commissioners against her royal highness, and we cannot, in the first place, refrain from remarking on the very strange circumstance, that any set of men, acting as a court of justice, or a court of honour, or a court of inquiry, should, so contrary to all the established forms of judicial proceedings, have accepted the opinions of witnesses, instead of facts, and should have represented those witnesses as not liable to the suspicion of any unfavourable bias, who were evidently, with one exception (Mr. Lisle), in that predicament, their testimony being nullified in every particular by each other, and by themselves; all of which ought to have been observed by the commissioners, as their biases were afterwards sufficiently proved by their understanding with the Douglas's. Might not this understanding, proved by Robert Eaglestone and others, be construed to amount to a conspiracy, which, if it had been directed against the opposite party, would have infallibly brought upon the

heads of the criminals, the vengeance of the Attorney-General. This same Robert Bidgood, who used to meet Lady Douglas in the Park, which, *en passant*, might be construed into something not very favourable to the character of Lady Douglas herself, is the only person who deposes to any thing in the shape of a fact, the evidence of all the others being merely operative and conjectural; and this fact amounts to his assertion, that he had, through a mirror, seen Captain Manby salute the princess. It is the same Robert Bidgood that says, "I *suspected* that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house. I *suspected* he slept at No. 9." Now were the commissioners to take these suspicions of Mr. Bidgood as facts, and might it not have occurred to them that this Mr. Bidgood, who was so fully armed at all points with suspicion, might also have been provided with a magnifying mirror. But this is one of the principal unbiassed and unexceptionable witnesses of the four lords. We shall content ourselves with a single specimen of his evidence, which will be sufficient to stamp his character, and which will shew the length to which some people will go, for the purpose of accommodating their superiors in the act of false swearing.

"Mr. Bidgood's wife has *lately* told him, that Fanny Lloyd *told* her, that Mary Wilson had *told* Lloyd, that one day when she went into the princess's room, she found her royal highness and

Sir Sidney in the fact." In this instance the adage is well verified, that a story never loses by *telling;* but so very shocked was Wilson at what she had seen, that she immediately left the room, and to heighten the tragical part of the scene, she fainted away, and fell prostrate on the ground.

It was not, it seems, until about six months previous to the 4th April, 1806, the day of her examination, that Sarah Bidgood had heard this declaration from Fanny Lloyd. This Fanny Lloyd must have been a very discreet girl indeed to have kept the secret so long; and had the commissioners exercised the smallest quantum of their knowledge of the female character, they ought to have come to the conclusion, that the very circumstance of a girl keeping such an important secret so long, without even being asked to keep it, or having received any bribe for that purpose, was a powerful indication that Fanny Lloyd had no secret whatever to keep, and that it was a vamped-up story by the conspirators, to degrade her royal highness. But what does Fanny Lloyd say herself upon the business? In her declaration of the 12th May, 1806, Frances Lloyd states, that "Mary Wilson is so close a woman, that she never opens her mouth on any occasion; never heard Mary Wilson say she was so alarmed as to be in a fit." And what does Mary Wilson herself say, upon this subject, in her de

position? Not a word. It appears, therefore, to have been an entire fabrication, constructed under motives of the blackest dye.

William Cole, also, another of the conspirators, with Bidgood and the Douglas's, and who had been twenty-one years in the service of the Prince of Wales, has stated in his declaration of the 11th January, 1806, his having heard a similar story from Fanny Lloyd, which she, however, in her deposition before the commissioners, denies in the most explicit manner.

"I never told Cole that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the princess to be in the library, had gone into the princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the princess, or that there was a great to do about it, and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secresy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen."

It was some time after he left Montague-house that he went down and asked Fanny Lloyd "how things went on amongst them." This poor Fanny Lloyd, it appears was the scape-goat of Cole and Bidgood. "In 1804," says Cole, "the princess was at Southend, where Fanny Lloyd also was; when Cole saw her after her return, he asked her how they had gone on, she said delightfully!—always on shipboard, or the captain at our house." But Fanny Lloyd does not say any thing of this either in her declaration or deposition, or of Captain Manby being met by Mrs. Lisle one night in the passage, after all the house had been in bed,

as Cole states, also on his authority. This hearsay, however, if true, would be no evidence; but why did not the commissioners examine Fanny Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, whose name was also connected with it on this point. It was not sufficient that they could themselves discern the falsehood of the allegation, they ought, in justice to the princess, to have embraced those measures which were obviously in their power, for rendering the falsehood conspicuous to the whole world. It was futile to suppose that they could keep the matter a secret, and as they had undertaken to enter upon the business at all, they ought to have entered into it in the fullest possible manner; the character of the evidences ought to have been sifted with the most scrupulous nicety, and they ought to have been confronted whenever their testimony was at variance. Secresy could only be prejudicial to the princess. It was well known that she neither shunned investigation, nor took any steps whatever in restraining her domestics from giving their evidence. Conscious of her innocence, she testified no fear as to the result; or convinced, as she might be, of the existence of a conspiracy against her, she nevertheless knew there was *one* individual who possessed not only the power, but the means of tracing the conspiracy to its source, and who would not fail to visit the conspirators with the full weight of his royal displeasure.

But if we examine a little more minutely into these hearsays, what credit can be given to them, when the only facts of them respecting which Fanny Lloyd is questioned, she explicitly denies; and if we were to suppose that Fanny Lloyd did make the communications to Cole which he alleges were actually made, it would still be necessary to inquire what credit is due to Fanny Lloyd. This we are enabled very shortly to appreciate.

She has also her hearsays, and she states, "about four years ago, *as I think*, Mr. Mills attended me for a cold, and in conversation he asked me if the prince visited at our house? I said, not to my knowledge. He said the princess certainly was with child."

Both Mr. Mills and his partner Mr. Edmeades depose that they never asked Fanny Lloyd, or any other person, such a question; for that they never thought or imagined the princess to be pregnant.

Having thus refuted the hearsays of Robert Bidgood and William Cole, by the evidence of Fanny Lloyd, and those of Fanny Lloyd, by the evidence of Messrs. Mills and Edmeades, we will now confront William Cole with himself.

"When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the princess's apartment, locked, *he does not know whether any person was with her, but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions.*"—Declaration, 14th January, 1806.

It appears that the above refers to some antecedent examination which is not to be found amongst the published documents. In the mean time, however, he conveniently refreshes his memory, and in his deposition gives a very different version of this blue-room affair, which appeared to him at the time so very *odd*.

"Some time after this, when I supposed that he (Mr. Lawrence) had gone to his room, I went *to see* that all was safe, and I found the blue-room door locked, and *heard a whispering in it*, and I went away."

Now it appears very strange indeed that an individual so very anxious about the safety of the princess, and no doubt about the honour of the throne, and being apparently rather of an inquisitive nature, and having according to his own declaration formed some suspicions, that this same individual should have contented himself with coolly retiring wholly uninformed as to the cause of the whispering. It might be supposed that the whispering was a species of food on which his curiosity could feed to satiety, and especially as his suspicions had been excited; but if we examine his own words minutely, we shall find, that in his declaration "*he does not know whether any person was with her;*" in his deposition, however, "*he heard a whispering.*" Accordingly in his latter version, he must mean that some person was with her, (and he fixes immediately upon Mr. Lawrence) or that she was whispering to herself; in which case it would have given Mr. Cole an op-

portunity of *proving* that her royal highness was not in her right senses, as talking or whispering to ourselves is one symptom of insanity. We will not, however, stop to inquire which of these versions is the correct one; but it is most surprising that the commissioners, having such glaring contradictions along with so many other palpable absurdities before them, should have given to this fellow's testimony the smallest credit; and it is still more astonishing that they should have considered it "unbiassed and unquestionable." In order to shew his impartiality more clearly, he scorns to abide by facts, but delivers at once his opinion. He says, "I have observed the princess too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith." It was indeed strange that this kind of evidence should be suffered to be given, and it is still more strange that it should have been thought entitled to consideration. Here is a man of a low and menial situation of life, presuming to give his opinion, as to the degree of familiarity which his royal mistress should use towards those with whom she associated. Was this fellow to constitute himself the judge of what was excessive or deficient familiarity on the part of the Princess of Wales? or could he be supposed to possess any knowledge whatever of the manners of the native country of her royal highness, as to be able to draw the line between a well-bred familiarity and a culpable indecorum? The manners of a foreigner, especially of a female of distinction, should never be tried by the standard of decorum in England; and it

was in losing sight of this principle, that the commissioners attached such importance to the depositions of the witnesses; indeed it would have been more creditable to them to have abstained from constituting themselves, in this respect, into a bench of judges of female behaviour and decorum, and have confined themselves merely to a representation of facts, and not to a promulgation of opinion as to what did or did not relate to criminality. If they had examined the statements made with due caution, they would have found that even Lady Douglas differs in opinion with Mr. Cole, respecting what is proper and improper familiarity. "I never, (says Lady Douglas,) observed any impropriety of conduct between Sir Sidney and the princess;" and it may be admitted that Lady Douglas was at least as good a judge of impropriety of female conduct—that she was probably equally unbiassed in this case, and had as good opportunities of observation as Mr. Cole. In order, however, still more clearly to shew how very unjustifiable the commissioners were in considering William Cole as an unbiassed witness, we may state that Samuel Roberts deposes that he remembered Cole asking him whether there were any favourites in the family; to which he replied, that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith dined at Blackheath oftener than other persons. Thus he always displays a lively anxiety to know what the princess is doing in his absence, notwithstanding, "that he has not been in the company or presence of the prince alone, or

had any conversation with him on this or any other subject, since the princess went to live at Charlton, which is near nine years ago." Is it not most surprising that the commissioners should have permitted themselves to represent this person's evidence as unbiassed?

We shall close our comments upon this memorable Report, by a few remarks upon the individuals who at that period composed the society of the Princess of Wales. These were, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, of the Navy, Mr. Lawrence, the painter, Mr. (now Lord) Hood, Mr. Chester, Captain Moore, and though last, not least, Mr. Canning.

It so happened that during the whole of this period, although most assiduously watched, no act of impropriety, according to the manners of Germany, and by which alone the princess ought to be judged, and much less any act of criminality was observed. So great, indeed, was the vigilance employed, so keen the appetite for discovery manifested, that if a person was seen abroad at night, wrapt up in a cloak, or was met in the passage, or crossing the hall at an unusual time, it was most liberally inferred, that he could have no other object than to visit the princess—if a whispering was heard at an unseasonable hour, it was concluded, without inquiry, that she was one of the parties, and, if in a strange house, she had occasion to quit her room at night, and the misfortune to lose her way, it was not

surmised immediately, but the discovery was made some years afterwards, that she left her room for no other purpose than for the prosecution of some unlawful pursuit. If she happened to be at any time engaged in particular conversation with any one gentleman, distinct from the rest of the company, although perfectly in sight, it was construed into an act of most exceeding indiscretion.

We shall begin with Mr. Canning:—"During the latter part of 1801, William Cole has seen Mr. Canning several times alone with the princess, in a room adjoining to the drawing-room, for an hour or two, *of which the company took notice.*"

In what manner the present President of the Board of Controul succeeded in removing the suspicions of William Cole, does not appear on record, but in Cole's deposition before the commissioners, he is not mentioned *.

To Mr. Canning succeeded Sir Sidney Smith, and the gallant officer was certainly a fine subject for the imagination of Mr. Cole.

In January, 1802, Mr. Cole's suspicions increased very much, and one night, about twelve

* In the debate on the Bill of Pains and Penalties, Lord King, in a very jocose manner, included Lord Liverpool in the number of those who were supposed to have been on familiar terms with the princess; and that the pious, chaste, and sober Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been known to play at blindman's-buff with her. Lord Liverpool declared *upon his honour* that he was innocent. Then, replied Lord King, smartly, so much, my lord, for the fidelity of reports.

o'clock, he saw a person wrapped up in a great coat, go across the Park into the gate to the Green-house. He does not take the superfluous trouble of ascertaining whether it be the princess's watchman, or a thief, but he concludes in the most convenient manner, that it can be no other person than Sir Sidney. In the same manner on hearing a whispering, and considering all inquiry as needless, he at once concludes, that the princess in the blue-room, must necessarily be one of the party, and that the other individual could be no other person than Mr. Lawrence, of whom much suspicion was entertained. On another occasion, a man was met in the passage at night, and it was immediately concluded to be Captain Manby.—Declaration of the 11th January, 1806.

In the whole of these declarations there is not an iota in the shape of a fact, excepting the alleged embrace of Captain Manby, and we have shown that the narrator of this circumstance, Bidgood, both from his connexion with the Douglas's, and the invalidation of the other parts of the testimony by Frances Lloyd, as well as from the general and obvious bias of his mind, is utterly unworthy of credit. Captain Manby denies it, as well as the other parts of the allegations which concern him, upon oath; and although the denial of a party impugned, is to be received with caution, yet as there was no necessity of his making a deposition, unless he could do it with a safe conscience, his assertion

may, in such a case, be at least upon a par with that of Bidgood.

It is proper we should here advert to the only respectable witness, whose evidence has been unaccountably mingled by the commissioners, with that which we have just been examining.

Mrs. Lisle states no facts criminatory of the princess. She merely considers her conduct what is generally called a flirting conduct, and which she thinks improper in a married woman. This, however, is mere opinion, the correctness of which must depend upon habits, and a great variety of other circumstances. It inferred no criminality whatever, and ought not under any circumstances, but much less under the circumstances in which the princess was then placed, to have been made the subject of reprehension. The commissioners were not constituted censors of morals, and the only opinion which it would become them to have given was, whether there was any ground for bringing criminal proceedings against her royal highness, before the ordinary tribunals.

The Report concludes by professing, that if the commissioners have been disappointed in their wish to prevent publicity, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by them. Now this confession comes with a very ill grace from the commissioners; for it is not the publicity, but the want of it—it is the

secret proceedings of which her majesty has always had reason to complain. If, therefore, more publicity was given to the proceedings than the commissioners could wish, who can honestly blame the princess for doing that which her interest, her duty, and the consciousness of her innocence, required? It is only guilt which dreads publicity, and it was perhaps on this account, that the commissioners did not wish the business in which they were engaged to be made public; and we are not the less persuaded, that in each successive stage of these extraordinary proceedings, her royal highness must have felt increasing conviction of the necessity of publicity for her own immediate safety. By secresy, and secret tribunals alone, could the persecutors of her royal highness have ever hoped to accomplish her destruction.

Although this celebrated report was dated the 14th July, it was not delivered to the Princess of Wales till the 11th August, and on the subsequent day she wrote the following letter to the king:—

Blackheath, Aug. 12, 1806.

SIRE,

With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the Report from the Lords Commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by Lord Erskine's footman, directed to the Princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of

which were, that Lord Erskine sent the evidences and report by commands of his majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the Lords Commissioners would not have given in the report, before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must for a feeling, and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can in the face of the Almighty assure your majesty that your daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums and improprieties, which are imputed to her at present by the Lords Commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who speak as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. Your majesty can be sure, that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power, to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood and Cole; to make my conduct be cleared in the most satisfactory way, for the tranquillity of your majesty, for the honour of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in-law. In the mean time I can safely trust your majesty's gracious justice to recollect, that the whole of the evidence on which the commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons, who might have been called, to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connexion with Sir John and Lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious king, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your majesty has

been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only support, and my only consolation, in this country.

I remain, with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration, and unfeigned attachment,

Sire,

Your majesty's most dutiful, submissive,
and humble daughter-in-law and subject,

CAROLINE.

After a lapse of six days her royal highness again wrote to the king, having in the mean time consulted with her legal advisers; they informed her, and upon their information she stated to his majesty, that the copies of the Report, and of the accompanying papers which were sent to her, were unauthenticated; that in some parts of them there had been *erasures*, and that copies of the written declarations, upon which the Report proceeded, had not been transmitted to her, she therefore begged that his majesty would give directions that the copies of the Report, &c. might be authenticated, and that the copies of the declarations might be sent to her. She also requested that she might be informed who were her accusers, and how many there were of them, in order that she might judge of the credit due to their accusations, and be enabled to refute them. His majesty was graciously pleased to order copies of the declarations to be sent, but of the other parts of her

royal highness's letter no notice seems to have been taken.

The following is the letter itself:—

Montague-house, Aug. 17, 1806.

The Princess of Wales desires the Lord Chancellor to present her humble duty to the King, and to lay before his majesty the accompanying letter and papers. The princess makes this communication by his lordship's hands, because it relates to the papers with which she has been furnished through his lordship, by his majesty's commands.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Aug. 17*th*, 1806.

SIRE,

Upon receiving the copy of the Report, made to your majesty, by the commissioners, appointed to inquire into certain charges against my conduct, I lost no time, in returning to your majesty, my heartfelt thanks, for your majesty's goodness in commanding that copy to be communicated to me.

I wanted no adviser, but my own heart, to express my gratitude for the kindness, and protection which I have uniformly received from your majesty. I needed no caution or reserve, in expressing my confident reliance, that that kindness and protection would not be withdrawn from me, on this trying occasion; and that your majesty's justice would not suffer your mind to be affected, to my disadvantage, by any part of a Report, founded upon partial evidence, taken in my absence, upon charges, not yet communicated to me, until your majesty had heard, what might be alleged, in my behalf, in answer to it. But your majesty, will not be

surprised, nor displeased, that I, a woman, a stranger to the laws and usages of your majesty's kingdom, under charges, aimed, originally, at my life, and honour, should hesitate to determine, in what manner I ought to act, even under the present circumstances, with respect to such accusations, without the assistance of advice in which I could confide. And I have had submitted to me the following observations, respecting the copies of the papers with which I have been furnished. And I humbly solicit from your majesty's graicous condescension and justice, a compliance with the requests, which arise out of them.

In the first place, it has been observed to me, that these copies of the Report, and of the accompanying papers, have come unauthenticated by the signature of any person, high, or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, is pledged for their correctness, or to whom resort might be had, if it should be necessary, hereafter, to establish, that these papers are correct copies of the originals. I am far from insinuating that want of such attestations was intentional. No doubt it was omitted through inadvertence; but its importance is particularly confirmed by the state, in which the copy of Mrs. Lisle's examination has been transmitted to me. For in the third page of that examination there have been two erasures; on one of which, some words have been, subsequently introduced apparently in a different hand-writing from the body of the examination; and the passage as it stands, is probably incorrect, because the phrase is unintelligible. And this occurs in an important part of her examination.

The humble, but earnest request, which I have to make to your majesty, which is suggested by this observation, is, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the Report, and the papers which accompany it, and which, for that purpose, I venture to transmit to your majesty with this letter, may be examined, and then returned to me,

authenticated as correct, under the signature of some person, who, having attested their accuracy, may be able to prove it.

In the second place, it has been observed to me, that the Report proceeds, by reference to certain written declarations, which the commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings, and which contain, as I presume, the charge or information against my conduct. Yet copies of these written declarations have not been given to me. They are described indeed, in the Report, as consisting in certain statements, respecting my conduct, imputing not only, gross impropriety of behaviour, but expressly asserting facts of the most confirmed, and abandoned criminality, for which, if true, my life might be forfeited. These are stated to have been followed by declarations from other persons, who, though not speaking to the same facts, had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, as connected with the assertions already mentioned.

On this, it is observed to me, that it is most important that I should know the extent, and the particulars of the charges or informations against me, and by what accusers they have been made; whether I am answering the charges of one set of accusers, or more. Whether the authors of the original declarations, who may be collected from the Report to be Sir John and Lady Douglas, are my only accusers; and the declarations which are said to have followed, are the declarations of persons adduced as witnesses by Sir John and Lady Douglas to confirm their accusation; or whether such declarations are the charges of persons, who have made themselves also, the authors of distinct accusations against me.

The requests, which, I humbly hope, your majesty will think reasonable, and just to grant, and which are suggested by these further observations are,

First, That your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that I should be furnished with copies of these declarations; and, if they are rightly described in the Report, as the necessary foundation of all the proceedings of the commissioners, your majesty could not, I am persuaded, but have graciously intended, in directing that I should be furnished with a copy of the report, that I should also see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests.

Secondly, That I may be informed whether I have one or more, and how many accusers; and who they are; as the weight and credit of the accusation cannot but be much affected by the quarter from whence it originates.

Thirdly, That I may be informed of the time when the declarations were made. For the weight and credit of the accusation must, also, be much affected, by the length of time which my accusers may have been contented to have been the silent depositories of those heavy matters of guilt, and charge; and,

Lastly, That your majesty's goodness will secure to me a speedy return of these papers, accompanied, I trust, with the further information which I have solicited; but at all events a speedy return of them. And your majesty will see, that it is not without reason, that I make this last request, when your majesty is informed, that, though the report appears to have been made upon the 14th of July, yet it was not sent to me till the 11th of the present month. A similar delay I should, of all things, deplore. For it is with reluctance, that I yield to those suggestions, which have induced me to lay these my humble requests before your majesty, since they must, at all events, in some degree, delay the arrival of that moment, to which I look forward with so earnest and eager an impatience; when I confidently feel, I shall completely satisfy your majesty, that the whole of these charges are alike unfounded; and are all parts of the

same conspiracy against me. Your majesty, so satisfied, will, I can have no doubt, be as anxious as myself to secure to me that redress, which the laws of your kingdom (administering, under your majesty's just dispensation, equal protection and justice to every description of your majesty's subjects,) are prepared to afford to those who are so deeply injured as I have been. That I have in this case the strongest claim to your majesty's justice, I am confident I shall prove; but I cannot, as I am advised, so satisfactorily establish that claim, till your majesty's goodness shall have directed me to be furnished with an authentic statement of the actual charges against me, and that additional information, which it is the object of this letter most humbly, yet earnestly, to implore.

I am,
Sire,
Your majesty's most dutiful, submissive,
and humble daughter-in-law,
C. P.

Montague-house.

Her royal highness waited with extreme anxiety for an answer to this application, which however was not received until after a lapse of three days, when the following correspondence took place:—

Aug. 20th, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to return to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the box, as he received it this morning from his majesty. It contains the papers he formerly sent to her royal highness, and which he sends as they are, thinking that it may be in the mean time most agreeable to her royal highness.

The reason of their not having been authenticated by the Lord Chancellor was, that he received them as copies from Earl Spencer, who was in possession of the originals; and he could not therefore, with propriety, do so, not having himself compared them; but her royal highness may depend upon having other copies sent to her, which have been duly examined and certified to be so.

The box will be delivered to one of her royal highness's pages in waiting, by the principal officer, attendant upon the Lord Chancellor, and he trusts he shall find full credit, with her royal highness, that in sending a servant formerly with the papers, the moment he received them (no messenger being in waiting, and the officers who attend him being detained by their duties in court,) he could not be supposed to have intended any possible disrespect, which he is incapable of shewing to any lady, but most especially to any member of his majesty's royal family.

To her R. H. the Princess of Wales.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Aug. 24, 1806.

His majesty has been pleased to transmit to me the letter which he has received from your royal highness, dated the 17th instant; and to direct, that I should communicate the same to the Lords Commissioners, who had been commanded by his majesty to report to his majesty on the matters therein referred to; and I have now received his majesty's further commands, in consequence of that letter, to acquaint your royal highness, that when I transmitted to your royal highness, by the king's commands, and under my signature, the copies of official papers, which had been laid before his majesty, those papers were judged thereby duly authenticated, according to the usual course and forms of office: and sufficiently so, for the purposes for which his

majesty had been graciously pleased to direct them to be communicated to your royal highness.

That, nevertheless, there does not appear to be any reason for his majesty's declining a compliance with the request which your royal highness has been advised to make, that those copies should, after being examined with the originals, be attested by some person to be named for that purpose; and that, if your royal highness will do me the honour to transmit them to me, they shall be examined and attested accordingly, after correcting any errors that may have occurred in the copying.

His majesty has further authorized me to acquaint your royal highness, that he is graciously pleased, on your royal highness's request, to consent that copies of the written declarations, referred to in the report of the Lords Commissioners, should be transmitted to your royal highness, and that the same will be transmitted accordingly, so soon as they can be transcribed.

ERSKINE C.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to add to the above official communication, that his purse-bearer respectfully waits her royal highness's commands, in case it should be her royal highness's pleasure to return the papers by him.

To her R. H. the Princess of Wales.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Aug. 29th, 1806.

THE Lord Chancellor has the honour to transmit to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the papers desired by her royal highness, just as he received them a few minutes ago from Earl Spencer, with the note accompanying them.

Aug. 31*st*, 1806.

HER Royal Highness the Princess of Wales acquaints the Lord Chancellor, that the gentleman with whom her royal highness advises, and who had possession of the copies of the official papers communicated to her royal highness by the Lord Chancellor, returned from the country late yesterday evening. Upon the subject of transmitting these papers to the Lord Chancellor, for the purpose of their being examined and authenticated, and then returned to her royal highness, he states, that in consequence of the Lord Chancellor's assurance, contained in his note of the 20th inst., that her royal highness might depend upon having *other* copies sent to her, which had been duly examined and certified to be so; he has relied upon being able to refer to those already sent, and therefore it would be inconvenient to part with them at present; and her royal highness therefore hopes, that the Lord Chancellor will procure for her the other authenticated copies, which his lordship promised in his note of the 20th inst.

With respect to the copies already sent, being as the Lord Chancellor expresses it, in his letter of the 24th inst., "judged to be duly authenticated according to the usual "course and forms of office, and sufficiently so for the pur- "pose for which his majesty had been graciously pleased "to direct them to be communicated to her royal highness, "because they were transmitted to her, by the king's com- "mands, and under his lordship's signature."—Her royal highness could never have wished for a more authentic attestation, if she had conceived that they were authenticated under such signature. But she could not think that the mere signature of his lordship, on the outside of the envelope, which contained them, could afford any authenticity to the thirty papers, which that envelope contained; or could, in any manner, identify any of those papers, as

having been contained in that envelope. And she had felt herself confirmed in that opinion, by his lordship's saying in his note of the 20th inst., "that the reason of their not "having been authenticated by the Lord Chancellor, was, "that he received them as copies from Earl Spencer, who "was in possession of the originals, *and he could not therefore "with propriety do so, not having himself compared them.*"

Her royal highness takes this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of the declarations referred to in the commissioner's report.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Sept. 2nd, 1806.

THE Lord Chancellor has taken the earliest opportunity in his power of complying with the wishes of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. He made the promise of other copies, without any communication with the other commissioners, wholly from a desire to shew every kind of espect and accommodation to her royal highness, in any thing consistent with his duty, and not at all from any idea that the papers, as originally sent, (though there might be errors in the copying) were not sufficiently authenticated. An opinion which he is obliged to say he is not removed from; nevertheless, the Lord Chancellor has a pleasure in conforming to her royal highness's wishes, and has the honour to enclose the attested copies of the depositions, as he has received them from Earl Spencer.

To her R. H. Princess of Wales.

The Princess of Wales being thus in possession of an authenticated statement of the charges against her, entered upon her defence in a letter

to the king, the composition of which has been, we believe justly, attributed to the late Mr. Perceval, and which has been considered as one of the finest specimens of epistolary writing which the English language can produce. It is, however, particularly valuable from the powerful strain of argument which pervades it, and the satisfactory manner in which the charges against her royal highness are refuted. It is a document which ought to be transmitted to posterity, and after generations will not peruse it without some feelings of indignation and remorse, that England could produce a set of men, who, for the purpose of self aggrandizement, or owing to a mean subserviency to the ruling power, could enter into a prosecution of an illustrious female, on charges of so slight and groundless a nature. The blush of shame will tinge the cheeks of the future patriot, when he considers that England, the boasted land of freedom and of liberty, was once the theatre of the vilest conspiracy which was ever engendered and brought to maturity, against the individual who was one day destined to share the throne.

It were presumptuous to enter further into the merits of this celebrated letter. It breathes the sentiments of one conscious of her innocence, who fears not to confront her accusers, and who fully exposes all the machinations of her enemies, suborned to work her degradation and her ruin. It is dated 2d October, 1806.

To the King.

SIRE,

IMPRESSED with the deepest sentiments of gratitude for the countenance and protection which I have hitherto uniformly received from your majesty, I approach you, with a heart undismayed, upon this occasion, so awful and momentous to my character, my honour, and my happiness. I should indeed, (under charges such as have now been brought against me,) prove myself undeserving of the continuance of that countenance and protection, and altogether unworthy of the high station which I hold in your majesty's illustrious family, if I sought for any partiality, for any indulgence, for any thing *more* than what is due to me in justice. My entire confidence in your majesty's virtues assures me that I cannot meet with *less*.

The situation which I have been so happy to hold in your majesty's good opinion and esteem; my station in your majesty's august family; my life, my honour, and, through mine, the honour of your majesty's family have been attacked. Sir John and Lady Douglas have attempted to support a direct and precise charge, by which they have dared to impute to me the enormous guilt of high treason, committed in the foul crime of adultery. In this charge, the extravagance of their malice has defeated itself. The Report of the Lords Commissioners, acting under your majesty's warrant, has most fully cleared me of that charge. But there remain imputations, strangely sanctioned, and countenanced by that report, on which I cannot remain silent, without incurring the most fatal consequences to my honour and character. For it states to your majesty, that "The circumstances detailed against me must be credited, till they are decisively contradicted."

To contradict with as much decision as the contradiction of an accused can convey; to expose the injustice and

malice of my enemies; to shew the utter impossibility of giving credit to their testimony; and to vindicate my own innocence, will be objects, Sire, of this letter. In the course of my pursuing these objects, I shall have much to complain of in the substance of the proceeding itself, and much in the manner of conducting it. That any of these charges should ever have been entertained, upon testimony so little worthy of belief, which betrayed, in every sentence, the malice in which it originated; that, even if they were entertained at all, your majesty should have been advised to pass by the ordinary legal modes of inquiry into such high crimes, and to refer them to a commission, open to all the objection, which I shall have to state to such a mode of inquiry; that the commissioners, after having negatived the principal charge of substantive crime, should have entertained considerations of matters that amounted to no legal offence, and which were adduced, not as substantive charges in themselves, but as matters in support of the principal accusation; that through the pressure and weight of their official occupations, they did not, perhaps could not, bestow that attention on the case, which, if given to it, must have enabled them to detect the villany and falsehood of my accusers, and their foul conspiracy against me; and must have preserved my character from the weighty imputation which the authority of the commissioners has, for a time, cast upon it; but, above all, that they should, upon this *ex parte* examination, without hearing one word that I could urge, have reported to your majesty an opinion on these matters, so prejudicial to my honour, and from which I can have no appeal to the laws of the country, (because the charges, constituting no legal offence, cannot be made the ground of a judicial inquiry;)—These and many other circumstances, connected with the length of the proceeding, which have cruelly aggravated, to my feelings, the pain necessarily attendant upon this inquiry, I shall not be able

to refrain from stating, and urging, as matters of serious lamentation at least, if not of well-grounded complaint.

In commenting upon any part of the circumstances, which have occurred in the course of this inquiry, whatever observations I may be compelled to make upon any of them, I trust I never shall forget what is due to officers in high station and employment under your majesty. No apology, therefore, can be required for any reserve in my expressions towards them. But if, in vindicating my innocence against the injustice and malice of my enemies, I should appear to your majesty not to express myself with all the warmth and indignation, which innocence, so foully calumniated, must feel, your majesty will, I trust, not attribute my forbearance to any insensibility to the grievous injuries I have sustained; but will graciously be pleased to ascribe it to the restraint I have imposed upon myself, lest in endeavouring to describe in just terms, the motives, the conduct, the perjury, and all the foul circumstances which characterize, and establish the malice of my accusers, I might use language which, though not unjustly applied to them, might be improper to be used by me to any body, or unfit to be employed by any body, humbly, respectfully, and dutifully addressing your majesty.

That a fit opportunity has occurred for laying open my heart to your majesty, perhaps I shall hereafter have no reason to lament. For more than two years I had been informed, that, upon the presumption of some misconduct in me, my behaviour had been made the subject of investigation, and my neighbours' servants had been examined concerning it. And for some time, I had received mysterious and indistinct intimations, that some great mischief was meditated towards me. And, in all the circumstances of my very peculiar situation, it will not be thought strange, that however conscious I was, that I had no just cause of fear, I should yet feel some uneasiness on this account.

With surprise certainly, (because the first tidings were of a kind to excite surprise,) but without alarm, I received the intelligence, that, for some reason, a formal investigation of some parts of my conduct had been advised, and had actually taken place. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on the 7th June, announced it to me. He announced to me,—the Princess of Wales, in the first communication made to me, with respect to this proceeding, the near approach of two attorneys (one of them, I since find, the solicitor employed by Sir John Douglas), claiming to enter my dwelling, with a warrant, to take away one half of my household, for immediate examination upon a charge against myself. Of the nature of that charge, I was then uninformed. It now appears, it was the charge of High Treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery. His royal highness, I am sure, will do me the justice to represent to your majesty, that I betrayed no fear, that I manifested no symptoms of conscious guilt, that I sought no excuses to prepare, or to tutor, my servants for the examination which they were to undergo. The only request which I made to his royal highness was, that he would have the goodness to remain with me till my servants were gone; that he might bear witness, that I had no conversation with them before they went. In truth, Sire, my anxieties, under a knowledge that some serious mischief was planned against me, and while I was ignorant of its quality and extent, had been so great, that I could not but rejoice at an event, which seemed to promise me an early opportunity of ascertaining what the malice of my enemies intended against me.

It has not been, indeed, without impatience the most painful, that I have passed the interval, which has since elapsed. When once it was not only known to me, but to the world (for it was known to the world) that inquiry of the gravest nature had been instituted into my conduct, I looked

to the conclusion, with all the eagerness that could belong to an absolute conviction, that my innocence and my honour, to the disgrace and confusion of my accusers, would be established; and that the groundless malice, and injustice of the whole charge would be manifested to the world, as widely as the calumny had been circulated. I knew that the result of an *ex parte* inquiry, from its very nature, could not, unless it fully asserted my entire innocence, be in any degree just. And I had taught myself most firmly to believe, that it was *utterly impossible* that any opinion, which could in the smallest degree, work a prejudice to my honour and character, could ever be expressed in any terms, by any persons, in a Report upon a solemn formal inquiry, and more especially to your majesty, without my having some notice, and some opportunity of being heard. And I was convinced, that, if the proceeding allowed me, before an opinion was expressed, the ordinary means, which accused persons have, of vindicating their honour and their innocence, my honour and my innocence must, in any opinion, which could then be expressed, be fully vindicated, and effectually established. What then, Sire, must have been my astonishment, and my dismay, when I saw, that notwithstanding the principal accusation was found to be utterly false, yet some of the witnesses to those charges which were brought in support of the principal accusation,—witnesses whom, any person, interested to have protected my character, would easily have shewn, out of their own mouths, to be utterly unworthy of credit, and confederates in foul conspiracy with my false accusers, are reported to be "free from all suspicion of unfavourable bias;" their veracity, "in the judgment of the commissioners, not to be questioned;" and their infamous stories, and insinuations against me, to be "such as deserve the most serious consideration, and as must be credited till decisively contradicted.'

The inquiry, after I thus had notice of it, continued for above * two months. I ventured not to complain, as if it had been unnecessarily protracted. The important duties, and official avocations of the noble lords, appointed to carry it on, may naturally account for, and excuse, some delay. But however excusable it may have been, your majesty will easily conceive the pain and anxiety, which this interval of suspense, has occasioned; and your majesty will not be surprised, if I further represent, that I have found a great aggravation of my painful sufferings, in the delay which occurred in communicating the Report to me. For though it is dated on the 14th July, I did not receive it, notwithyour majesty's gracious commands, till the 11th of August. It was due, unquestionably, to your majesty, that the result of an inquiry, commanded by your majesty, upon advice which had been offered, touching matters of the highest import, should be first, and immediately, communicated to you. The respect and honour due to the Prince of Wales, the interest which he must necessarily have taken in this inquiry, combined to make it indisputably fit, that the result should be, forthwith, also stated to his royal highness. I complain not, therefore, that it was too early communicated to any one: I complain only, (and I complain most seriously, and I feel it most severely) of the delay in its communication to me.

Rumour had informed the world, that the Report had been early communicated to your majesty, and to his royal highness. I did not receive the benefit, intended for me

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* The time that the inquiry was pending, after this notice of it, is here confounded with the time which elapsed before the Report was communicated to her royal highness. The inquiry itself only lasted to the 14th or 16th of July, which is but between five and six weeks from the 7th of June.

by your majesty's gracious command, till a month after the Report was signed. But the same rumour had represented me, to my infinite prejudice, as in possession of the Report, during that month, and the malice of those, who wished to stain my honour, has not failed to suggest all that malice could infer, from its remaining in that possession, so long unnoticed. May I be permitted to say, that, if the Report acquits me, my innocence entitled me to receive from those, to whom your majesty's commands had been given, an immediate notification of the fact that it did acquit me. That, if it condemned me, the weight of such a sentence should not have been left to settle, in any mind, much less upon your majesty's, for a month, before I could even begin to prepare an answer, which, when begun, could not speedily be concluded; and that, if the Report could be represented as both acquitting, and condemning me, the reasons, which suggested the propriety of an early communication in each of the former cases, combined to make it proper and necessary in the latter.

And why all consideration of my feelings was thus cruelly neglected; why I was kept upon the rack, during all this time, ignorant of the result of a charge, which affected my honour and my life; and why, especially in a case, where such grave matters were to continue to be "credited, to the prejudice of my honour," till they were "decidedly contradicted," the means of knowing what it was, that I must, at least, endeavour to contradict, were withholden from me, a single unnecessary hour, I know not, and I will not trust myself, in the attempt, to conjecture.

On the 11th August, however, I at length received from the Lord Chancellor, a packet containing copies of the warrant or commission authorizing the inquiry; of the Report—and of the examinations on which the Report was founded. And your majesty may be graciously pleased to recollect, that on the 13th I returned my grateful thanks to

ur majesty, for having ordered these papers to be sent to me.

Your majesty will readily imagine that, upon a subject of such importance, I could not venture to trust only to my own advice: and those with whom I advised, suggested, that the written declarations or charges upon which the inquiry had proceeded, and which the commissioners refer to in their report, and represent to be the essential foundation of the whole proceeding, did not accompany the examinations and report; and also that the papers themselves were not authenticated. I therefore ventured to address your majesty upon these supposed defects in the communication, and humbly requested that the copies of the papers, which I then returned, might, after being examined and authenticated, be again transmitted to me; and that I might also be furnished with copies of the written declarations so referred to in the report. And my humble thanks are due for your majesty's gracious compliance with my request. On the 29th of August I received, in consequence, the attested copies of those declarations, and of a narrative of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and a few days after, on the 3d of September, the attested copies of the examinations which were taken before the commissioners.

The papers which I have received are as follow:

* The Narrative of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, dated 27th of December, 1805.

A Copy of the written Declaration of Sir John and Lady Douglas, dated December 3, 1805.

A Paper containing the written Declarations, or Examinations, of the persons hereafter enumerated;—The title to these papers is,

"For the purpose of confirming the Statement made by

* See p. 120—185.

Lady Douglas, of the circumstances mentioned in her Narrative, the following examinations have been taken, and which have been signed by the several persons who have been examined:"—

Two of Sarah Lampert;—one, dated Cheltenham, 8th January, 1806,—and the other, 29th March, 1806.

One of William Lampert, baker, 114, Cheltenham, apparently of the same date with the last of Sarah Lampert's.

Four of William Cole, dated respectively, 11th January, 14th January, 30th January, and 23d February, 1806.

One of Robert Bidgood, dated Temple, 4th April, 1806.

One of Sarah Bidgood, dated Temple, 23d April, 1806; and

One of Frances Lloyd, dated Temple, 12th May, 1806.

The other papers and documents which accompanied the Report, are,*

1806.	No.	
29 May,	1.	The King's Warrant or Commission.
1 June,	2.	Deposition of Lady Douglas.
1	3.	of Sir John Douglas.
6	4.	of Robert Bidgood.
6	5.	of W. Cole.
7	6.	of Frances Lloyd.
7	7.	of Mary Wilson.
7	8.	of Samuel Roberts.
7	9.	of Thomas Stikeman.
7	10.	of J. Sicard.
7	11.	of Charlotte Sander.
7	12.	of Sophia Austin.
20	13.	Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir.
21	14.	from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer.
21	15.	from Lady Willoughby to Lord Spencer.

* See p. 190—215.

23 June,	16.	Extract from Register of Brownlow-street Hospital.
23	17.	Deposition of Elizabeth Gosden.
23	18.	of Betty Townley.
25	19.	of Thomas Edmeades.
25	20.	of Samuel G. Mills.
27	21.	of Hariet Fitzgerald.
1 July,	22.	Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir.
3	23.	from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer.
3	24.	Queries to Lady Willoughby and Answers.
3	25.	Further deposition of R. Bidgood.
3	26.	Deposition of Sir F. Millman.
3	27.	of Mrs. Lisle.
4	28.	Letter from Sir Francis Millman to the Lord Chancellor.
16	29.	Deposition of Lord Cholmondeley.
14	30.	The Report.

By the copy which I have received of the commission, or warrant, under which the inquiry has been prosecuted, it appears to be an instrument under your majesty's sign manual, not countersigned, not under any seal.—It recites, that an abstract of certain written declarations, touching my conduct (without specifying by whom those declarations were made, or the nature of the matters, touching which they had been made, or even by whom the abstract had been prepared,) had been laid before your majesty; into the truth of which it purports to authorize the four noble peers, who are named in it, to inquire and to examine upon oath such persons as they think fit; and to report to your majesty the result of their examination. By referring to the written declarations, it appears that they contain allegations against me amounting to the charge of high treason, and also other matters, which, if understood to be as they seem to have been acted and reported upon by the commissioners, not as evidence confirmatory (as they are expressed to be in

their title) of the principal charge, but as distinct and substantive subjects of examination, cannot, as I am advised, be represented as in law amounting to crimes. How most of the declarations referred to were collected, by whom, at whose solicitation, under what sanction, and before what persons, magistrates, or others, they were made, does not appear. By the title, indeed, which all the written declarations, except Sir John and Lady Douglas's, bear, *viz.* "That they had been taken for the purpose of confirming Lady Douglas's Statement," it may be collected that they had been made by her, or at least by Sir John Douglas's procurement. And the concluding passage of one of them, I mean the fourth declaration of W. Cole, strengthens this opinion, as it represents Sir John Douglas, accompanied by his solicitor Mr. Lowten, to have gone down as far as Cheltenham for the examination of two of the witnesses, whose declarations are there stated. I am however at a loss to know, at this moment, whom I am to consider, or whom I could legally fix, as my false accuser. From the circumstance last mentioned, it might be inferred that Sir John and Lady Douglas, or one of them, is that accuser. But Lady Douglas, in her written declaration, so far from representing the information which she then gives, as moving voluntarily from herself, expressly states that she gives it under the direct command of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the papers leave me without information from whom any communication to the prince originated, which induced him to give such commands.

Upon the question, how far the advice is agreeable to law, under which it was recommended to your majesty to issue this warrant, or commission, not countersigned, nor under seal, and without any of your majesty's advisers, therefore, being on the face of it responsible for its issuing, I am not competent to determine. And undoubtedly considering that the two high legal authorities, the Lord Chan-

cellor, and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, consented to act under it, it is with the greatest doubt and diffidence, that I can bring myself to express any suspicion of its illegality. But if it be, as I am given to understand it is, open to question, whether, consistently with law, your majesty should have been advised to command, by this warrant or commission, persons, not to act in any known character, as secretaries of state, as privy councillors, as magistrates otherwise empowered; but to act as commissioners, and under the sole authority of such warrant, to inquire (without any authority to hear and determine any thing upon the subject of those inquiries), into the known crime of high treason, under the sanction of oaths, to be administered by them, as such commissioners, and to report the result thereof to your majesty. If, I say, there can be any question upon the legality of such a warrant or commission, the extreme hardship, with which, it has operated upon me, the extreme prejudice, which it has done to my character, and to which such a proceeding must ever expose the person who is the object of it, obliges me, till I am fully convinced of its legality, to forbear from acknowledging its authority; and, with all humility and deference to your majesty, to protest against it, and against all the proceedings under it.

If this, indeed, were matter of mere form, I should be ashamed to urge it. But the actual hardships and prejudice which I have suffered by this proceeding, are most obvious. For, upon the principal charge against me, the commissioners have most satisfactorily, and "without the least hesitation," for such is their expression, reported their opinion of its falsehood. Sir John and Lady Douglas, therefore, who have sworn to its truth, have been guilty of the plainest falsehood, yet upon the supposition of the illegality of this commission, their falsehood must, as I am informed, go unpunished. Upon that supposition, the want of legal

authority in the commissioners to inquire and to administer an oath, will render it impossible to give to this falsehood the character of perjury. But this is by no means the circumstance which I feel the most severely. Beyond the vindicating of my own character, and the consideration of providing for my future security, I can assure your majesty, that the punishment of Sir John and Lady Douglas would afford me no satisfaction. It is not therefore with regard to that part of the charge, which is negatived, but with respect to those, which are sanctioned by the Report, those, which, not aiming at my life, exhaust themselves upon my character, and which the commissioners have, in some measure sanctioned by their Report, that I have the greatest reason to complain. Had the Report sanctioned the principal charge, constituting a known legal crime, my innocence would have emboldened me, at all risks, (and to more, no person has ever been exposed from the malice, and falsehood of accusers) to have demanded that trial, which could legally determine upon the truth or falsehood of such charge. Though I should even then indeed have had some cause to complain, because I should have gone to that trial, under the prejudice, necessarily raised against me, by that Report; yet into a proceeding before the just, open, and known tribunals of your majesty's kingdom, I should have had a safe appeal from the result of an *ex parte* investigation. An investigation which, has exposed me to all the hardships of a *secret* inquiry, without giving me the benefit of a *secrecy*; and to all the severe consequences of a public investigation, in point of injury to my character, without affording me any of its substantial benefits, in point of security. But the charges, which the commissioners do sanction by the Report, describing them, with a mysterious obscurity and indefinite generality, constitute, as I am told, no legal crime. They are described as "instances of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour" which must "occasion the most

unfavourable interpretations," and they are reported to your majesty, and they are stated to be, " circumstances which must be credited till they are decisively contradicted."

From this opinion, this judgment of the commissioners, bearing so hard upon my character, (and that a female character, how delicate, and how easily to be affected by the breath of calumny your majesty well knows) I can have no appeal. For as the charges constitute no legal crimes, they cannot be the subjects of any legal trial. I can call for no trial. I can therefore have no appeal; I can look for no acquittal. Yet this opinion, or this judgment, from which I can have no appeal, has been pronounced against me upon mere *ex parte* investigation.

This hardship, sire, I am told to ascribe to the nature of the proceeding under this warrant or commission; for had the inquiry been entered into before your majesty's privy council, or before any magistrates, authorized by law as such, to inquire into the existence of treason, the known course of proceeding before that council, or such magistrates, the known extent of their jurisdiction over crimes, and not over the proprieties of behaviour, would have preserved me from the possibility of having matters made the subjects of inquiry which had in law no substantive criminal character, and from the extreme hardship of having my reputation injured by calumny altogether unfounded, but rendered at once more safe to my enemies, and more injurious to me, by being uttered, in the course of a proceeding, assuming the grave semblance of legal form. And it is by the nature of this proceeding, (which could alone have countenanced or admitted of this licentious latitude of inquiry, into the proprieties of behaviour in private life, with which no court, no magistrate, no public law has any authority to interfere,) that I have been deprived of the benefit of that entire and unqualified acquittal and discharge from

this accusation, to which the utter and proved falsehood of the accusation itself so justly entitled me.

I trust therefore that your majesty will see that if this proceeding is not one to which, by the known laws of your majesty's kingdom, I ought to be subject, that it is no cold formal objection which leads me to protest against it.

I am ready to acknowledge, sire, from the consequences which might arise to the public, from such misconduct as hath been falsely imputed to me, that my honour and virtue are of more importance to the state than those of other women. That my conduct therefore may be fitly subjected, when necessary, to a severer scrutiny. But it cannot follow, because my character, is of more importance, that it may therefore be attacked with more impunity. And as I know, that this mischief has been pending over my head for more than two years, that private examinations of my neighbours' servants, and of my own, have, at times, during that interval, been taken, for the purpose of establishing charges against me, not indeed by the instrumentality of Sir John and Lady Douglas alone, but by the sanction, and in the presence of the Earl of Moira (as your majesty will perceive by the deposition of Jonathan Partridge which I subjoin *;) and as I know also, and make appear to your majesty likewise by the same means, that declarations of persons of unquestionable credit, respecting my conduct, attesting my innocence, and directly falsifying a most important circumstance respecting my supposed pregnancy, mentioned in the declarations on which the inquiry was instituted; as I know, I say, that those declarations, so favourable to me, appear to my infinite prejudice, not to have been communicated to your majesty, when that inquiry was commanded; and as I know not how soon nor how often, proceedings against me may be meditated

* See the depositions at the end of this letter.

by my enemies, I take leave to express my humble trust, that, before any other proceedings may be had against me, (desirable as it may have been thought, that the inquiry should have been of the nature, which has, in this instance, obtained,) your majesty would be graciously pleased to require to be advised, whether my guilt, if I were guilty, could not be as effectually discovered and punished, and my honour and innocence, if innocent, be more effectually secured and established by other more known and regular modes of proceeding.

Having therefore, sire, upon these grave reasons, ventured to submit, I trust without offence, these considerations upon the nature of the commission, and the proceedings under it, I will now proceed to observe upon the Report, and the examinations; and, with your majesty's permission, I will go through the whole matter, in that course which has been observed by the Report itself, and which an examination of the important matters that it contains, in the order in which it states them, will naturally suggest.

The Report, after referring to the commission or warrant under which their lordships were acting, after stating that they had proceeded to examine the several witnesses, whose depositions they annexed to their Report, proceeds to state the effect of the written declarations, which the commissioners considered as the essential foundation of the whole proceeding. "That they were statements which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess; that these statements not only imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts; *viz.* that her royal highness had been pregnant in the

year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year, been secretly delivered of a male child; which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection. These allegations thus made, had, as the commissioners found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, when connected with the assertions already mentioned. The Report then states, that in the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by these declarations, they learnt that he had adopted the only course which could, in their judgment, with propriety be followed, when informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged and particularly detailed, and had in some degree been supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent,) one line could only be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and by possibility affecting the succession to your majesty's crown."

The commissioners, therefore, your majesty observes, going, they must permit me to say, a little out of their way, begin their report by expressing a clear and decided opinion, that his royal highness was properly advised (for your majesty will undoubtedly conclude, that upon a subject of this importance, his royal highness could not but have acted by the advice of others,) in referring this complaint to your majesty, for the purpose of its undergoing the investigation

which has followed. And unquestionably, if the charge referred to in this report, as made by Sir John and Lady Douglas, had been presented under circumstances, in which any reasonable degree of credit could be given to them, or even if they had not been presented in such a manner, as to impeach the credit of the informers, and to bear internal evidence of their own incredibility, I should be the last person who would be disposed to dispute the wisdom of the advice which led to make them the subject of the gravest and most anxious inquiry. And your majesty, acting upon a mere abstract of the declarations, which was all that by the recital of the warrant appears to have been laid before your majesty, undoubtedly could not but direct an inquiry concerning my conduct. For though I have not been furnished with that abstract, yet I must presume that it described the criminatory contents of these declarations, much in the same manner as they are stated in the report. And the criminatory parts of these declarations, if viewed without reference to those traces of malice and resentment, with which the declarations* of Sir John and Lady Douglas abound; if abstracted from all these circumstances, which shew the extreme improbability of the story, the length of time which my accusers had kept my alleged guilt concealed, the contradictions observable in the declarations of the other witnesses, all which I submit to your majesty, are to an extent to cast the greatest discredit upon the truth of these declarations;—abstracted, I say, from these circumstances, the criminatory parts of them were unquestionably such as to have placed your majesty under the necessity of directing some inquiry concerning them. But that those, who had the opportunity of reading the long and malevolent narration of Sir John and Lady Douglas, should not have

* See p. 128—170.

hesitated before they gave any credit to it, is matter of the greatest astonishment to me.

The improbability of the story would of itself, I should have imagined, (unless they believed me to be as insane as Lady Douglas insinuates,) have been sufficient to have staggered the belief of any unprejudiced mind. For to believe that story, they were to begin with believing that a person guilty of so foul a crime, so highly penal, so fatal to her honour, her station, and her life, should gratuitously and uselessly have confessed it. Such a person under the necessity of concealing her pregnancy, might have been indispensably obliged to confide her secret with those, to whom she was to look for assistance in concealing its consequences. But Lady Douglas, by her own account, was informed by me of this fact, for no purpose whatever. She makes me, as those who read her declarations cannot fail to have observed, state to her that she should, on no account, be intrusted with any part of the management by which the birth was to be concealed.* They were to believe also, that, anxious as I must have been to have concealed the birth of any such child, I had determined to bring it up in my own house; and what would exceed, as I should imagine, the extent of all human credulity, that I had determined to suckle it myself: that I had laid my plan, if discovered, to have imposed it upon his royal highness as his child Nay, they were to believe that I had stated, and that Lady Douglas had believed the statement to be true, that I had in fact attempted to suckle it, and only gave up that part of my plan because it made me nervous, and was too much for my health. And, after all this, they were then to believe, that having made Lady Douglas thus unnecessarily the confidante of this important and dangerous secret; having thus put my character and my life in her

* See p. 150.

hands, I sought an occasion wantonly, and without provocation, from the mere fickleness and wilfulness of my own mind, to quarrel with her, to insult her openly and violently in my own house, to endeavour to ruin her reputation; to expose her in infamous and indecent drawings enclosed in letters to her husband. The letters indeed are represented to have been anonymous, but, though anonymous, they are stated to have been written with my own hand, so undisguised in penmanship and style, that every one who had the least acquaintance with either could not fail to discover them, and, (as if it were through fear, lest it should not be sufficiently plain from whom they came,) that I had sealed them with a seal which I had shortly before used on an occasion of writing to her husband. All this they were to believe upon the declaration of a person, who, with all that loyalty and attachment which she expresses to your majesty, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with all her obligation to the whole of the royal family, (to whom she expresses herself to be bound by ties of respectful regard and attachment which nothing can ever break;) with all her dread of the mischievous consequences to the country, which might arise, from the disputed succession to the crown, on the pretensions of an illegitimate child of mine, nevertheless continued, after this supposed avowal of my infamy, and my crime, after my supposed acknowledgement of the birth of this child, which was to occasion all this mischief, to preserve, for near a twelvemonth, her intimacy and apparent friendship with me. Nay for two years more, after that intimacy had ceased, after that friendship had been broken off, by my alleged misbehaviour to her, continued still faithful to my secret, and never disclosed it till (as her declaration states it) "The Princess* of Wales "recommended a fresh torrent of outrage against Sir John;

* See p. 169.

"and Sir John discovered that she was attempting to under-
"mine his and Lady Douglas's character."

Those, then, who had the opportunity of seeing the whole of this narrative, having had their jealousy awakened by these circumstances to the improbability of the story, and to the discredit of the informer, when they came to observe how maliciously every circumstance that imagination could suggest, as most calculated to make a woman contemptible and odious, was scraped and heaped up together in this narrative, must surely have had their eyes opened to the motives of my accusers, and their minds cautioned against giving too easy a credit to their accusation, when they found my conversation to be represented as most loose and infamous; my mind uninstructed, and unwilling to learn; my language, with regard to your majesty and the whole of your royal family, foully disrespectful and offensive; and all my manners and habits of life most disgusting, I should have flattered myself that I could not have been, in character, so wholly unknown to them, but that they must have observed a spirit, and a colouring at least in this representation, which must have proved much more against the disposition and character of the informers, and the quality of their information, than against the person who was the object of their charge. But when, in addition to all this, the declaration states,* that I had, with respect to my unfortunate and calamitous separation from his royal highness, stated that I had acknowledged myself to have been the aggressor from the beginning, and myself alone; and when it further states, that if any other woman had so played and sported with her husband's comfort and popularity, she would have been turned out of his house, or left alone in it, and have deservedly forfeited *her place in society;* and further still, when alleging that I had once

* See p. 144.

been desirous of procuring a separation from his royal highness, and had pressed former chancellors to accomplish this purpose, it flippantly adds, that "The chancellor may now, perhaps, be able to grant her request." The malicious object of the whole must surely have been most obvious.

For supposing these facts to have been all true; supposing this infamous and libellous description of my character had been nothing but a correct and faithful representation of my vices and my infamy, would it not have been natural to have asked why they were introduced into this declaration? What effect could they have had upon the charge of crime, and of adultery, which it was intended to establish? If it was only, in execution of a painful duty, which a sense of loyalty to your majesty, and obedience to the commands of the Prince of Wales, at length reluctantly drew from them, why all this malicious accompaniment*? "His royal highness," indeed they say, "desired that they would communicate the whole circumstances of their acquaintance with me, from the day they first spoke with me till the present time; a full detail of all that passed during our acquaintance," and "how they became known to me, it appearing to his royal highness, from the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, that his majesty's dearest interests, and those of his country, were very deeply interested in the question," and "that he particularly commanded them to be very circumstantial in their detail, respecting all they might know relative to the child that I affected to adopt."

But from the whole of this it is sufficiently apparent, that the particularity of this detail was required by his royal highness, in respect of matters connected with that question, in which the dearest interests of your majesty and this country were involved; and not of circumstances which

* See p. 169.

could have no bearing on these interests. If it had been therefore true, as I most solemnly protest it is not, that I had in the confidence of private conversation so far forgot all sense of decency, loyalty, and gratitude, as to have expressed myself with that disrespect of your majesty which is imputed to me;—if I had been what I trust those who have lived with me, or ever have partaken of my society, would not confirm, of a mind so uninformed and uncultivated, without education or talents, or without any desire of improving myself, incapable of employment, of a temper so furious and violent, as altogether to form a character which no one could bear to live with, who had the means of living elsewhere;—What possible progress would all this make towards proving that I was guilty of adultery? These, and such like insinuations, as false as they are malicious, could never have proved crime in me, however manifestly they might display the malice of my accusers.

Must it not then have occurred to any one, who had seen the whole of this narrative, if the motive of my accusers was, as they represent it, merely that of good patriots, of attached and loyal subjects, bound, in execution of a painful duty, imposed upon them by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to disclose in detail all the facts which could establish my guilt, that these circumstances never would have made a part of their detail? But on the other hand, if their object was to traduce me;—if, falsely, attributing to his royal highness sentiments which could belong to no generous bosom, but measuring his nature by their own, they thought vainly and wickedly to ingratiate themselves with him, by being the instruments of accomplishing my ruin;—if aiming at depriving me of my rank and station, or of driving me from this country, they determined to bring forward a charge of treason against me, which, though they knew in their consciences it was false, yet they might hope would serve at least as a cover and a pretence for

such an imputation upon my character, and rendering my life intolerable in this country, might drive me to indeed fugue in another;—if, the better to effectuate this purpose, they had represented all my misfortunes as my faults, and as my faults alone, drawn an odious and disgusting picture of me, to extinguish every sentiment of pity and compassion, which, in the generosity, not only of your majesty's royal bosom, and of the members of your royal family, but of all the inhabitants of your kingdom, might arise to commiserate the unfortunate situation of a stranger, persecuted under a charge originating in their malice;—if for this they sought out that I had justly forfeited my station in society, and that a separation from my husband was what I myself had most wished, and what the chancellor might now, perhaps, procure for me;—or, if in short, their object was to obtain my condemnation by prejudice, inflamed by falsehood, which never could be obtained by justice informed by truth, then the whole texture of the declaration is consistent, and is well contrived and executed for its purpose. But it is strange that its purpose should have escaped the detection of intelligent and impartial minds. There was enough, at least, to have made them pause before they gave such a degree of credit to informations of this description, as to have made them the foundations of so important and decisive a step, as that of advising them to be laid before your majesty.

And indeed such seems to have been the effect which this declaration at first produced. Because if it had been believed, the only thing to have been done (according to the judgment of the commissioners,) would have been to have laid it immediately before your majesty, to whom, upon every principle of duty, the communication was due. But the declaration was made on the 3d of December, in the last year, and the communication was not made to your majesty till the very end of May. And that interval appears

to have been employed, in collecting those other additiona declarations, which are referred to in the report, and which your majesty has likewise been pleased, by your gracious commands, to have communicated to me.

These additional declarations do not, I submit, appear to furnish much additional reason for believing the incredible story. They were taken indeed* "for the purpose," (for they are so described, this is the title which is prefixed to them in the authentic copies, with which I have been furnished,) "for the purpose of confirming the statement made by Lady Douglas, of the circumstances mentioned in her narrative," and they are the examinations of two persons, who appear to have formerly lived in the family of Sir John and Lady Douglas, and of several servants of my own; they are filled with the hearsay details of other servants' declarations. And one of them, W. Cole, seems to have been examined over and over again. No less than four of his examinations are given, and some of these evidently refer to other examinations of his, which are not given at all.

These, I submit to your majesty, are rendered, from this marked circumstance, particularly undeserving of credit; because in the only instance in which the hearsay statement, related to one servant, was followed by the examination of the other, who was stated to have made it, (I mean an instance in which Cole relates what he had heard said by F. Lloyd)* F. Lloyd does not appear to have said any such thing, or even to have heard what she is by him related to have said, and she relates the fact that she really did hear, stripped of all the particulars with which Cole had coloured it, and which alone made it in any degree deserving to be mentioned. Beside this, the parents of the child, which is scribed to me by Lady Douglas, are plainly pointed out, and a clue is afforded, by which, if followed, it would have

* See p. 217.

been as easy to have ascertained that the child was no child of mine, (if indeed it ever had been seriously believed to be so) and to have proved whose child it was, before the appointment of the commissioners, as it has been found to be afterwards.

So far, therefore, from concurring with the commissioners in approving the advice, under which his royal highness had acted, I conceive it to have been at least cruel and inconsiderate, to have advised the transmission of such a charge to your majesty, till they had exhausted all the means which private inquiry could have afforded, to ascertain its falsehood or its truth.

And when it appears that it was not thought necessary, upon the first statement of it, as the commissioners seem to have imagined, forthwith to transmit it to your majesty; but it was retained for near six months, from the beginning of December till near the end of May; what is due to myself obliges me to state, that if there had but been, in that interval, half the industry employed to remove suspicions, which was exerted to raise them, there would never have existed a necessity for troubling your majesty with this charge at all. I beg to be understood as imputing this solely to the advice given to his royal highness. He must, of necessity, have left the detail and the determination upon this business to others. And it is evident to me, from what I know, that his royal highness was not fairly dealt with; that material information was obtained, to disprove part of the case against me, which, not appearing in the declarations that were transmitted to your majesty, I conclude was never communicated to his royal highness.

Feeling, sire, strongly, that I have much to complain of, that this foul charge should have been so readily credited to my great prejudice, as to have occasioned that advice to be given, which recommended the transmission of it to your majesty, who, once formally in possession of it, could not

fail to subject it to some inquiry. I have dwelt, perhaps at a tedious length, in disputing the propriety of the commissioner's judgment, in thus approving the course which was pursued. And, looking to the event, and all the circumstances connected with it, perhaps I have reason to rejoice that the inquiry has taken place. For, if three years concealment of my supposed crime, could not impeach the credit of my accusers, three times that period might, perhaps, be thought to have left that credit still unimpaired. And, had the false charge been delayed till death had taken away the real parents of the child, which Lady Douglas charges to be mine; if time had deprived me of those servants and attendants who have been able so fully to disprove the fact of my alleged pregnancy, I know not where I could have found the means of disproving facts and charges, so falsely, so confidently, and positively sworn to, as those to which Lady Douglas has attested.

Following, as I proposed, the course taken in the Report, I next come to that part of it, to which unquestionably, I must recur with the greatest satisfaction; because it is that part, which so completely absolves me of every possible suspicion, upon the two material charges, of pregnancy and childbirth.

The commissioners state in their Report, that they began by examining "on oath the two principal informants, Sir John and Lady Douglas, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of pregnancy, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to the Report, and are circumstantial and positive."—The most material of "the allegations, into the truth of which they had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded," they state, "that they felt it their duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other per

sons, as they judged best able to afford them information, as to the facts in question." "We thought it," they say, "beyond all doubt, that in this course of inquiry many particulars must be learnt which would be *necessarily conclusive* on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actual existing pregnancy, so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery, and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been, in fact, the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative, or negative on this part of the subject." "This expectation," they proceed to state, "was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your majesty, our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess, is the child of her royal highness, or that she was deliverved of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries."—They then proceed to refer to the circumstantial evidence, by which they state that it was proved that the child was, beyond all doubt, born in Brownlow-street Hospital, on the 11th July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and brought to my house in the month of November following.—"Neither should we," they add, "be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations; a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways, have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit." Then, after stating that they have annexed the depositions from which they have collected these opinions, they add—"We humbly

offer to your majesty our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry."

These two most important facts, therefore, which are charged against me, being so fully, and satisfactorily, disposed of, by the unanimous and clear judgment of the commissioners; being so fully and completely disproved by the evidence which the commissioners collected, I might, perhaps, in your majesty's judgment, appear well justified in passing them by without any observation of mine.—But though the observations which I shall make, shall be very few, yet I cannot forbear just dwelling upon this part of the case, for a few minutes; because, if I do not much deceive myself, upon every principle which can govern the human mind, in the investigation of the truth of any charge, the fate of this part of the accusation must have decisive weight upon the determination of the remainder.—I, therefore, must beg to remark, that Sir John Douglas* swears to my having appeared, some time after our acquaintance had commenced, to be with child, and that one day I leaned on the sofa, and put my hand upon my stomach and said, "Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England," and he said, "Not if you don't deserve it," and I seemed angry at first.

This conversation, I apprehend, if it has the least relation to the subject on which Sir John was examined, must be given for the purpose of insinuating that I made an allusion to my pregnancy, as if there was a sort of understanding between him and me upon the subject, and that he made me angry, by an expression which implied, that what I alluded to would forfeit my right to be Queen of England.—If this is not the meaning which Sir John intends to be annexed to this conversation, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive what he can intend it to convey.—Whether at any time, when I

* See p. 198.

may have felt myself unwell, I may have used the expression, which he here imputes to me, my memory will not enable me, with the least degree of certainty, to state. The words themselves seem to me to be perfectly innocent; and the ation of laying my hand upon my breast, if occasioned by any sense of internal pain at the moment, neither unnatural, nor, as it appears to me, in any way censurable. But that I could have used these words, intending to convey to Sir John Douglas the meaning, which I suppose him to insinuate, surpasses all human credulity to believe. I could not, however, forbear to notice this passage in Sir John's examination, because it must serve to demonstrate to your majesty, how words in themselves most innocent, are endeavoured to be tortured, by being brought into the context with his opinion of my pregnancy, to convey a meaning most contrary to that, which I could by possibility have intended to convey, but which it was necessary he should impute to me, to give the better colour to this false accusation.

As to Sir John Douglas, however, when he swears to the appearance of my pregnancy, he possibly might be only mistaken. Not that that mistake will excuse or diminish the guilt of so scandalous a falsehood upon oath. But for Lady Douglas, there cannot be even such an excuse. Independent of all those extravagant confessions which she falsely represents me to have made, she states, upon her own observation and knowledge, that I was pregnant in the year 1802. Now, in the habits of intercourse and intimacy, with which I certainly did live with her, at that time, she could not be mistaken as to that fact. It is impossible, therefore, that in swearing positively to that fact, which is so positively disproved, she can fail to appear to your majesty to be wilfully and deliberately foresworn.

As to the conversations which she asserts to have passed between us, I am well aware, that those who prefer her word to mine, will not be satisfied to disbelieve her upon

my bare denial; nor, perhaps, upon the improbability and extravagance of the supposed conversations themselves. But as to the facts of pregnancy and delivery, which are proved to be false, in the words of the Report, "by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, they must in various ways have been known," no person living can doubt that the crime of adultery and treason, as proved by those facts, has been attempted to be fixed upon me, by the deliberate and wilful falsehood of this my most forward accuser. And when it is once established, as it is, that my pregnancy and delivery are all Sir John and Lady Douglas's invention, I should imagine that my confessions of a pregnancy which never existed; my confession of a delivery which never took place; my confession of having suckled a child which I never bore, will hardly be believed upon the credit of her testimony. The credit of Lady Douglas, therefore, being thus destroyed, I trust your majesty will think that I ought to scorn to answer to any thing which her examination may contain, except so far as there may appear to be any additional and concurrent evidence to support it.

This brings me to the remaining part of the Report, which I read, I do assure your majesty, with a degree of astonishment and surprise, that I know not how to express. How the commissioners could, upon such evidence, from such witnesses, upon such an information, and in such an *ex parte* proceeding, before I had had the possibility of being heard, not only suffer themselves to form such an opinion, but to report it to your majesty, with all the weight and authority of their great names, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive. Their great official and judicial occupations, no doubt, prevented that full attention to the subject which it required. But I am not surely without just grounds of complaint, if they proceeded to pronounce an opinion upon my character, without all that consideration and attention, which the importance of it to the peace of your majesty's

mind, to the honour of your royal family, and the reputation of the Princess of Wales, seem, indispensably, to have demanded.

In the part of the Report already referred to, the particulars of the charge, exclusive of those two important facts, which have been so satisfactorily disposed of, are, as I have already observed, variously described by the commissioners; as, "matters of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour;" as, "other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, when connected with the assertions already mentioned;" and as "points of the same nature, though coming to a much less extent." But they do not become the subject of particular attention in the Report, till after the commissioners had concluded that part of it, in which they give so decisive an opinion against the truth of the charge upon the two material facts. They then proceed to state—

"That they cannot close their Report there," much as they could wish it; that besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations on the whole of which your majesty had required their inquiry and report, contain *other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.* That from various depositions and proofs annexed to their Report, *particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, W. Cole, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, several strong circumstances of this description,* have been positively sworn to, by witnesses, *who cannot in the judgment of the commissioners, be suspected of any unfavourable bias,* and whose veracity in THIS RESPECT, they had *seen no ground to question.*" They then state that "on the precise bearing and effect of the facts, thus appearing, it is not for them to decide, these they submit to your ma-

jesty's wisdom. But they conceive it to be their duty to report on this part of the inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts; that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are, in their minds, satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand they think, *that the circumstances to which they now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction, and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.*"

Your majesty will not fail to observe that the commissioners have entered into the examination of *this part* of the case, and have reported upon it, not merely as evidence in confirmation of the charges of pregnancy and delivery, which they have completely negatived and disposed of, but as containing substantive matters of charge, in itself.—That they consider it, indeed, as relating to points "of the same nature, but going to a much less extent," not, therefore, as constituting actual crime, but as amounting to "improprieties and indecencies of behaviour, aggravated by the exalted rank which I hold," as "occasioning unfavourable interpretations," and as "entitled to the most serious consideration." And when they also state that it is not for them to decide on their precise bearing and effect, I think I am justified in concluding that they could not class them under any known head of crime; as, in that case, upon their bearing and effect they would not have been fully competent to have pronounced.

I have, to a degree, already stated to your majesty, the unprecedented hardship to which I conceive myself to have been exposed, by this *ex parte* inquiry into the decorum of my private conduct. I have already stated the prejudice done to my character, by this recorded censure, from which I can have no appeal; and I press these considerations no

further upon your majesty, at present, than to point out, in passing this part of the Report, the just foundations which it affords me for making the complaint.

Your majesty will also, I am persuaded, not fail to remark the strange obscurity and reserve, the mysterious darkness, with which the Report here expresses itself; and every one must feel how this aggravates the severity and cruelty of the censure, by rendering it impossible distinctly and specifically to meet it. The commissioners state, indeed, that some things are proved against me, which must be credited till they shall receive a decisive contradiction, but what those things are they do not state. They are "particulars and circumstances which, especially considering my exalted rank, must give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations. They are several strong circumstances of this description," "they are, if true, justly deserving of the most serious consideration," and they "must be credited till decidedly contradicted." But what are these circumstances? What are these deeds without a name? Was there ever a charge so framed? Was ever any one put to answer any charge, and decidedly to contradict it, or submit to have it credited against him, which was conceived in such terms without the means of ascertaining what these things are, except as conjecture may enable me to surmise, to what parts of the examinations of the four witnesses on whom they particularly rely, they attach the importance and the weight which seem to them to justify these dark and ambiguous censures on my conduct? But such as they are, and whatever they may be, they must, your majesty is told, be credited unless they are decidedly contradicted.

Circumstances, respecting Captain Manby, indeed are particularized; but referring to the depositions which apply to him, they contain much matter of opinion, of hearsay, of suspicion. Are these hearsays, are these opinions, are these suspicions, and conjectures of these witnesses, to be

believed against me, unless decidedly contradicted? How can I decidedly contradict another person's opinion? I may reason against its justice, but how can I contradict it? Or how can I decidedly contradict any thing which is not precisely specified, nor distinctly known to me?

Your majesty will also observe, that the report states, that it is not for the commissioners to decide upon the bearing and effect of these facts; these are left for your majesty's decision. But they add that, if true, they are justly entitled to the most serious consideration. I cannot, sire, but collect from these passages an intimation that some further proceedings may be meditated. And, perhaps, if I acted with perfect prudence, seeing how much reason I have to fear, from the fabrications of falsehood, I ought to have waited till I knew what course, civil or criminal, your majesty might be advised to pursue, before I offered any observations or answer. To this alternative, however, I am driven. I must either remain silent, and reserve my defence, leaving the imputation to operate most injuriously and fatally to my character; or I must, by entering into a defence against so extended a charge, expose myself with much greater hazard to any future attacks. But the fear of *possible* danger, to arise from the perverted interpretation of my answer, cannot induce me to acquiesce under the *certain* mischief of the unjust censure and judgment which stands against me, as it were, recorded in this report. I shall, therefore, at whatever hazard, proceed to submit to your majesty, in whose justice I have the most satisfactory reliance, my answer and my observations upon this part of the case.

And here, sire, I cannot forbear again presuming to state to your majesty, that it is not a little hard that the commissioners (who state, in the beginning of their report, that certain particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, were, in the judgment which they had formed upon them

before they entered into the particulars of the inquiry, rendered still more suspicious from being connected with the assertion of pregnancy and delivery,) should have made no observation upon the degree in which that suspicion must be proportionably abated, when those assertions of pregnancy and delivery have been completely falsified and disproved; that they should make no remark upon the fact, that all the witnesses (with the exception of Mrs. Lisle, on whom they specifically rely,) were every one of them brought forward by the principal informers, for the purpose of supporting the false statement of Lady Douglas; that they are the witnesses, therefore, of persons, whom, after the complete falsification of their charge, I am justified in describing as conspirators, who have been detected in supporting their conspiracy by their own perjury. And, surely, where a conspiracy to fix a charge upon an individual, has been plainly detected, the witnesses of those who have been so detected in that conspiracy,—witnesses that are brought forward to support this false charge, cannot stand otherwise than considerably affected in their credit, by their connexion with those who are detected in that conspiracy. But, instead of pointing out this circumstance, as calling, at least, for some degree of caution and reserve in considering the testimony of these witnesses, the report, on the contrary, holds them up as worthy of particular credit, as witnesses who, in the judgment of the commissioners, cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias; whose veracity, in that respect, they have seen no ground to question, and who must be credited till they receive some decided contradiction.

Now, sire, I feel the fullest confidence that I shall prove to your majesty's most perfect satisfaction, that all of these witnesses (of course, I still exclude Mrs. Lisle) are under the influence, and exhibit the symptoms of the most unfavourable bias; that their veracity is, in every respect, to

be doubted; and that they cannot, by any candid and attentive mind, be deemed worthy of the least degree of credit upon this charge: your majesty will easily conceive, how great my surprise and astonishment must have been at this part of the report. I am, indeed, at a loss to know, whether I understand the passage which I have cited from the report: "The witnesses, in the judgment of the commissioners, are not to be suspected of unfavourable bias; and their veracity, *in that respect*, they have seen no reason to question." What is meant by their having seen no reason to suspect their veracity *in that respect?* Do they mean, what the qualification seems to imply, that they have seen reason to question it in other respects? Is it meant to be insinuated, that they saw reason to question their veracity, not in respect of an unfavourable bias, but of a bias in my favour? I cannot impute to them such an insinuation, because I am satisfied that the commissioners would never have intended to insinuate any thing so directly contrary to the truth.

The witnesses specifically pointed out, as thus particularly deserving of credit are R. Bidgood*, W. Cole†, F. Lloyd‡, and Mrs. Lisle. With respect to Mrs. Lisle, I trust your majesty will permit me to make my observations upon her examination, as distinctly and separately as I possibly can from the others: because as I ever had, and have now as much as ever, the most perfect respect for Mrs. Lisle, I would avoid the possibility of having it imagined that such observations as I shall be under the absolute necessity of making upon the other witnesses, could be intended, in any degree, to be applied to her.

With respect to Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, they have all lived in their places for a long time: they had lived with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales before he married,

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* See p. 199. † p. 201. ‡ p. 203.

and were appointed by him to situations about me; Cole and Lloyd immediately upon my marriage, and Bidgood very shortly afterwards. I know not whether from the circumstance they may consider themselves as not owing that undivided duty and regard to me, which servants of my own appointment might possibly have felt; but if I knew nothing more of them than that they had consented to be voluntarily examined, for the purpose of supporting the statement of Lady Douglas on a charge so deeply affecting my honour, without communicating to me the fact of such examination, your majesty would not, I am sure, be surprised to find, that I saw, in that circumstance alone, sufficient to raise *some* suspicions of an unfavourable bias. But when I find Cole, particularly, submitting to this secret and voluntary examination against me no less than *four* times, and when I found during the pendency of this inquiry before the commissioners, that one of them (R. Bidgood) was so far connected and in league with Sir John and Lady Douglas, as to have communication with the latter, I thought I saw the proof of such decided hostility and confederacy against me, that I felt obliged to order the discontinuance of his attendance at my house till further orders. Of the real bias of their minds, however, with respect to me, your majesty will be better able to judge from the consideration of their evidence.

The imputations which I collect to be considered as cast upon me by these several witnesses, are, too great familiarity and intimacy with several gentlemen,—Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, Captain Manby; and I know not whether the same are not meant to be extended to Lord Hood, Mr. Chester, and Captain More.

With your majesty's permission, therefore, I will examine the depositions of the witnesses, as they respect these several gentlemen, in their order, keeping the evidence which

is applicable to each case as distinct from the others as I can.

And I will begin with those which respect Sir Sidney Smith, as he is the person first mentioned in the deposition of W. Cole.

W. Cole says*, "That Sir Sidney Smith first visited Montague-House in 1802; that he observed that the princess was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith. One day (he thinks in February) he (Cole) carried into the blue-room to the princess some sandwiches which she had ordered, and was surprised to see that Sir Sidney was there. He must have come in from the park. If he had been let in from Blackheath, he must have passed through the room in which he (Cole) was waiting. When he had left the sandwiches he returned, after some time, into the room, and Sir Sidney was sitting very close to the princess on the sofa. (Cole) looked at her royal highness; she caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which they were sitting together, they appeared both a little confused."

R. Bidgood says, also, in his deposition on the 6th of June, (for he was examined twice,) "That it was early in 1802 that he first observed Sir Sidney Smith come to Montague-House. He used to stay very late at night; he had seen him early in the morning there; about ten or eleven o'clock. He was at Sir John Douglas's, and was in the habit, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, of dining or having luncheon, or supping there every day. He saw Sir Sidney Smith one day in 1802 in the blue-room, about eleven o'clock in the morning, which was full two hours before they expected to see company. He asked the servants why they did not let him know Sir Sidney Smith was there; the footmen told him that they had let no person in. There

* p. 201.

was a private door to the park, by which he might have come in if he had a key to it, and have got into the blue-room without any of the servants perceiving him. And in his second deposition, taken on the 3d of July, he says he lived at Montague House when Sir Sidney came. Her (the princess's) manner with him appeared very familiar; she appeared very attentive to him, but he did not suspect any thing further. Mrs. Lisle says that the princess at one time appeared to like Sir John and Lady Douglas. "I have seen Sir Sidney Smith there very late in the evening, but not alone with the princess. I have no reason to suspect he had a key of the park-gate; I never heard of any body being found wandering about at Blackheath."

Fanny Lloyd does not mention Sir Sidney Smith in her deposition.

Upon the whole of this evidence, then, which is the whole that respects Sir Sidney Smith in any of these depositions (except some particular passages in Cole's evidence, which are so important as to require very particular and distinct statement) I would request your majesty to understand that, with respect to the fact of Sir Sidney Smith's visiting frequently at Montague-House, both with Sir John and Lady Douglas, and without them: with respect to his being frequently there, at luncheon, dinner, and supper, and staying with the rest of the company till twelve, one o'clock, or even sometimes later, if these are some of the facts, "which must give occasion to unfavourable interpretations, and must be credited till they are contradicted," they are facts which I never can contradict, for they are perfectly true. And I trust it will imply the confession of no guilt, to admit that Sir Sidney Smith's conversation, his account of the various and extraordinary events and heroic achievements in which he had been concerned, amused and interested me; and the circumstance of his living so much with his friends, Sir John and Lady Douglas, in my neighbour-

hood on Blackheath, gave the opportunity of increasing his acquaintance with me.

It happened also that about this time I fitted up, as your majesty may have observed, one of the rooms in my house after the fashion of a Turkish tent. Sir Sidney furnished me with a pattern for it, in a drawing of the tent of Murat Bey, which he had brought over with him from Egypt. And he taught me how to draw Egyptian arabesques, which were necessary for the ornaments of the ceiling; this may have occasioned, while that room was fitting up, several visits, and possibly some, though I do not recollect them, as early in the morning as Mr. Bidgood mentions. I believe also that it has happened more than once, that, walking with my ladies in the park, we have met Sir Sidney Smith, and that he has come in with us through the gate from the park. My ladies may have gone up to take off their cloaks, or to dress, and have left me alone with him: and, at some one of these times, it may very possibly have happened that Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood may have seen him, when he has not come through the waiting-room, nor been let in by one of the footmen. But I solemnly declare to your majesty, that I have not the least idea or belief that he ever had a key of the gate into the park, or that he ever entered in or passed out at that gate, except in company with myself and my ladies. As for the circumstance of my permitting him to be in the room alone with me, if suffering a man to be so alone is evidence of guilt, from whence the commissioners can draw any unfavourable inference, I must leave them to draw it. For I cannot deny that it has happened, and happened frequently; not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with many, many others; gentlemen who have visited me; tradesmen who have come to receive my orders; masters whom I have had to instruct me, in painting, in music, in English, &c., that I have received them without any one being by. In short, I trust I am not confessing a

crime, for unquestionably it is a truth, that I never had an idea that there was any thing wrong, or objectionable, in thus seeing men in the morning, and I confidently believe your majesty will see nothing in it, from which any guilt can be inferred. I feel certain that there is nothing immoral in the thing itself; and I have always understood that it was perfectly customary and usual for ladies of the first rank and the first character in the country, to receive the visits of gentlemen in a morning, though they might be themselves alone at the time. But if, in the opinions and fashions of this country, there should be more impropriety ascribed to it than what it ever entered into my mind to conceive, I hope your majesty, and every candid mind, will make allowance for the different notions which my foreign education and foreign habits may have given me.

But whatever character may belong to this practice, it is not a practice which commenced after my leaving Carlton-house. While there, and from my first arrival in this country, I was accustomed, with the knowledge of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and without his ever having hinted to me the slightest disapprobation, to receive lessons from various masters, for my amusement and improvement: I was attended by them frequently, from twelve o'clock till five in the afternoon;—Mr. Atwood for music, Mr. Geffadiere for English, Mr. Toufronelli for painting, Mr. Tutoye for imitating marble, Mr. Elwes for the harp. I saw them all alone; and indeed, if I were to see them at all, I could do no otherwise than see them alone. Miss Garth, who was then sub-governess to my daughter, lived certainly under the same roof with me, but she could not be spared from her duty and attendance on my daughter. I desired her sometimes to come down stairs, and read to me during the time when I drew or painted, but my Lord Cholmondeley informed me this could not be. I then requested that I might have one of my bed-chamber women

to live constantly at Carlton-house, that I might have her at call whenever I wanted her; but I was answered that it was not customary, that the attendants of the royal family should live with them in town; so that request could not be complied with. But, independent of this, I never conceive that it was offensive to the fashions and manners of the country to receive gentlemen, who might call upon me in a morning, whether I had or had not any one with me; and it never occurred to me to think that there was either impropriety or indecorum in it at that time, nor in continuing the practice at Montague-house. But this has been confined to morning visits, in no private apartments of my house, but in my drawing-room, where my ladies have, at all times, free access, and as they usually take their luncheon with me, except when they are engaged with visitors, or pursuits of their own, it could but rarely occur that I could be left with any gentleman alone for any length of time, unless there were something in the known and avowed business, which might occasion his waiting upon me, that would fully account for the circumstance.

I trust your majesty will excuse the length at which I have dwelt upon this topic. I perceived, from the examinations, that it had been much inquired after, and I felt it necessary to represent it in its true light. And the candour of your majesty's mind will, I am confident, suggest that those who are the least conscious of intending guilt, are the least suspicious of having it imputed to them; and therefore that they do not think it necessary to guard themselves at every turn, with witnesses to prove their innocence, fancying their character to be safe, as long as their conduct is innocent, and that guilt will not be imputed to them from actions quite indifferent.

The deposition, however, of Mr. Cole is not confined to my being alone with Sir Sidney Smith. The circumstances in which he observed us together he particularizes, and

states his opinion. He introduces, indeed, the whole of his evidence by saying that I was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith; but as I trust I am not yet so far degraded as to have my character decided by the opinion of Mr. Cole, I shall not comment upon that observation. He then proceeds to describe the scene which he observed on the day when he brought in the sandwiches, which I trust your majesty did not fail to notice, *I had myself ordered to be brought in.* For there is an obvious insinuation that Sir Sidney must have come in through the park, and that there was great impropriety in his being alone with me. And at least the witness's own story proves, whatever impropriety there might be in this circumstance, that I was not conscious of it, nor meant to take advantage of his clandestine entry from the Park, to conceal the fact from my servant's observation.

For if I had had such consciousness, or such meaning, I never could have ordered sandwiches to have been brought in, or any other act to have been done, which must have brought myself under the notice of my servants, while I continued in a situation, which I thought improper, and wished to conceal. Any of the circumstances of this visit, to which this part of the deposition refers, my memory does not enable me in the least degree to particularize and recall. Mr. Cole may have seen me sitting on the same sofa with Sir Sidney Smith. Nay, I have no doubt he must have seen me over and over again, not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with other gentlemen, sitting upon the same sofa; and I trust your majesty will feel it the hardest thing imaginable, that I should be called upon to account what corner of a sofa I sat upon four years ago, and how close Sir Sidney Smith was sitting to me. I can only solemnly aver to your majesty, that my conscience supplies me with the fullest means of confidently assuring you, that I never permitted Sir Sidney Smith to sit on any sofa with me in any manner, which, in my own judgment, was in the slightest *degree offensive* to the strictest propriety and de-

corum. In the judgment of many persons perhaps, a Princess of Wales should at no time forget the elevation of her rank, or descend in any degree to the familiarities and intimacies of private life. Under any circumstances, this would be a hard condition to be annexed to her situation. Under the circumstances, in which it has been my misfortune to have lost the necessary support to the dignity and station of a Princess of Wales, to have assumed and maintained an unbending dignity would have been impossible, and if possible, could hardly have been expected from me.

After these observations, sire, I must now request your majesty's attention to those written declarations which are mentioned in the Report, and which I shall never be able sufficiently to thank your majesty for having condescended, in compliance with my earnest request, to order to be transmitted to me. From observations upon those declarations themselves, as well as upon comparing them with the depositions made before the commissioners, your majesty will see the strongest reason for discrediting the testimony of W. Cole, as well as others of these witnesses whose credit stands in the opinion of the commissioners so unimpeachable. They supply important observations, even with respect to that part of Mr. Cole's evidence which I am now considering, though in no degree equal in importance to those which I shall afterwards have occasion to notice.

Your majesty will please to observe, that there are no less than four different examinations, or declarations of Mr. Cole. They are dated on the 11th, 14th, and 30th of January, and on 23rd of February. In these four different declarations he twice mentions the circumstance of finding Sir Sidney Smith and myself on the sofa, and he mentions it not only in a different manner, at each of those times, but at both of them in a manner, which materially differs from his deposition before the commissioners. In his declaration on the 11th of January * he says, that he found us

* See p. 175.

in so *familiar* a posture, as to *alarm* him very much, which he expressed by a *start back* and a look at the gentleman.

In that dated on 23nd of February,* however (being asked I suppose, as to that which he had dared to assert, of the familiar posture which had alarmed him so much,) he says, "there was *nothing particular* in our dress, *position* of legs, or arms, that was extraordinary; he thought it improper that a single gentleman should be sitting quite close to a married lady on the sofa, and from *that* situation, and *former observations*, he thought the thing improper. In this second account, therefore, your majesty perceives he was obliged to bring in his former observations to help out the statement, in order to account for his having been so shocked with what he saw, as to express his alarm by "starting back." But, unfortunately, he accounts for it, as it seems to me at least, by the very circumstance which would have induced him to have been less surprised, and consequently less startled by what he saw; for had his former observations been such as he insinuates, he would have been prepared the more to expect, and the less to be surprised at, what he pretends to have seen.

But your majesty will observe, that in his deposition before the commissioners,† (recollecting, perhaps, how awkwardly he had accounted for his starting in his former declaration,) he drops his starting altogether. Instead of looking at the gentleman only, he looked at us both; that I caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which we were sitting; and instead of his own starting, or any description of the manner in which he exhibited his own feelings, we are represented as both appearing a *little confused*. Our *confusion* is a circumstance, which, during his four declarations, which he made before the appointment of the four commissioners, it never once occurred to him to

* See p. 179 † p 201.

recollect. And now he does recollect it, we appeared he says, " a little confused."—A little confused!—The Princess of Wales detected in a situation such as to shock and alarm her servant, and so detected as to be sensible of her detection, and so conscious of the impropriety of the situation as to exhibit symptoms of confusion; would not her confusion have been been extreme? would it have been so little as to have slipped the memory of the witness who observed it, during his first four declarations, and at last to be recalled to his recollection in such a manner as to be represented in the faint and feeble way, in which he here describes it?

What weight your majesty will ascribe to these differences in the accounts given by this witness, I cannot pretend to say. But I am ready to confess, that, probably, if there was nothing stronger of the same kind to be observed, in other parts of his testimony, the inference which would be drawn from them, would depend very much upon the opinion previously entertained of the witness. To me, who know many parts of his testimony to be absolutely false, and all the colouring given to it to be wholly from his own wicked and malicious invention, it appears plain, that these differences in his representations, are the unsteady, awkward, shuffles and prevarications of falsehood.—To those, if there are any such, who from preconceived prejudices in his favour, or from any other circumstances, think that his veracity is free from all suspicion, satisfactory means of reconciling them may possibly occur. But before I have left Mr. Cole's examinations, your majesty will find that they will have much more to account for, and much more to reconcile.

Mr. Cole's examination before the commissioners goes on thus:—" *A short time before this, one night about twelve o'clock, I saw a man go into the house from the Park, wrapt

* See p. 202

up in a great coat. I did not give any alarm, for the impression on my mind was, that it was not a thief." When I read this passage, sire, I could hardly believe my eyes; when I found such a fact left in this dark state, without any further explanation, or without a trace in the examination of any attempt to get it further explained. How he got this impression on his mind, that this was not a thief? Whom he believed it to be? What part of the house he saw him enter? If the drawing-room, or any part which I usually occupy, who was there at the time? Whether I was there? Whether alone or with my ladies? or with other company? Whether he told any body of the circumstance at the time? or how long after? Whom he told? Whether any inquiries were made in consequence? These, and a thousand other questions, with a view to have penetrated into the mystery of this strange story, and to have tried the credit of this witness, would, I should have thought, have occurred to any one; but certainly must have occurred to persons so experienced, and so able in the examination of facts, and the trying of the credit of witnesses, as the two learned lords unquestionably are, whom your majesty took care to have introduced into this commission. They never could have permitted these unexplained and unsifted hints and insinuations to have had the weight and effect of proof. But, unfortunately for me, the duties, probably, of their respective situations prevented their attendance on the examination of this, and on the first examination of another most important witness, Mr. Robert Bidgood—and surely your majesty will permit me here, without offence, to complain, that it is not a little hard, that, when your majesty had shewn your anxiety to have legal accuracy, and legal experience assist on this examination, the two most important witnesses, in whose examinations there is more matter for unfavourable interpretation, than in all the rest put together, should have been examined without the benefit of this accuracy, and

this experience. And I am the better justified in making this observation, if what has been suggested to me is correct; that, if it shall not be allowed that the power of administering an oath under this warrant or commission is questionable, yet it can hardly be doubted, that it is most questionable whether, according to the terms or meaning of the warrant or commission as it constitutes no *quorum*, Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville could administer an oath, or act in the absence of the other lords; and if they could not, Mr. Cole's falsehood must be out of the reach of punishment.

Returning then from this digression, will your majesty permit me ask, whether I am to understand this fact, respecting the man in a great coat, to be one of those which must necessarily give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations? which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? and which if true, deserve the most serious consideration? The unfavourable interpretations which this fact may occasion, doubtless are, that this man was either Sir Sidney Smith, or some other *paramour*, who was admitted by me into my house in disguise at midnight, for the accomplishment of my wicked and adulterous purposes. And is it possible that your majesty, is it possible that any candid mind can believe this fact, with the unfavourable interpretations which it occasions, on the relation of a servant, who for all that appears, mentions it for the first time, four years after the event took place; and who gives himself, this picture of his honesty and fidelity to a master, whom he has served so long, that he, whose nerves are of so moral a frame, that he starts at seeing a single man sitting at mid-day, in an open drawing-room, on the same sofa, with a married woman, permitted this disguised midnight adulterer, to approach his master's bed, without taking any notice, without making any alarm. without offering any interruption. And why? because (as he expressly states) he did not believe him to be a thief; and because (as he plainly insinuates) he *did believe him* to be an adulterer.

But what makes the manner in which the commissioners suffer this fact to remain so unexplained, the more extraordinary is this; Mr. Cole had in his original declaration of the *11th January, which was before the commissioners, stated "that one night, about twelve o'clock, he saw a person wrapped in a great coat, go across the Park into the gate to the Green-house, and he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." In his declaration, then, (when he was not upon oath) he ventures to state, "that he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." When he is upon his oath, in his deposition before the commissioners, all that he ventures to swear is, "that he gave no alarm, because the impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief." And the difference is most important. "The impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief!!" I believe him, and the impression upon my mind too is, that he *knew* it was not a thief—that he knew who it was—and that he knew it was no other than *my watchman*. What incident it is that he alludes to, I cannot pretend to know. But this I know, that if it refers to any man with whose proceedings I have the least acquaintance or privity, it must have been my watchman; who, if he executes my orders, nightly and often in the night, goes his rounds, both inside and outside of my house. And this circumstance, which I should think would rather afford, to most minds, an inference that I was not preparing the way of planning facilities for secret midnight assignations, has, in my conscience, I believe, (if there is one word of truth in any part of this story, and the whole of it is not pure invention) afforded the handle, and suggested the idea, to this honest, trusty man, this witness, "who cannot be suspected of any unfavourable bias," "whose veracity in that respect the commissioners saw no ground to question," and "who must be credited till he received decided contradiction," suggested, I say, the idea

* See p. 171.

of the dark and vile insinuation contained in this part of his testimony.

Whether I am right or wrong, however, in this conjecture, this appears to be evident, that his examination is so left, that supposing an indictment for perjury or false swearing, would lie against any witness, examined by the commissioners, and supposing this examination had been taken before the whole four. If Mr. Cole was indicted for perjury, in respect to this part of his deposition, the proof that he did see the watchman would necessarily acquit him, would establish the truth of what he said, and rescue him from the punishment of perjury, though it would at the same time prove the falsehood and injustice of the inference and the insinuation, for the establishment of which alone the fact itself was sworn.

Mr. Cole chooses further to state, that he ascribes his removal from Montague-House to London, to the discovery he had made, and the notice he had taken of the improper situation of Sir Sidney Smith with me upon the sofa. To this I can oppose little more than my own assertions, as my motives can only be known to myself. But Mr. Cole was a very disagreeable servant to me; he was a man, who, as I always conceived, had been educated above his station. He talked French, and was a musician, playing well on the violin. By these qualifications he had got admitted occasionally, into better company, and this probably led to that forward and obtrusive conduct, which I thought extremely offensive and impertinent in a servant. I had long been extremely displeased with him; I had discovered that when I went out, he would come into my drawing-room, and play on my harpsichord, or sit there reading my books; and, in short, there was a forwardness which would have led to my absolutely discharging him a long time before, if I had not made a sort of rule to myself, to forbear as long as possible from removing any servant who had been placed about me

by his royal highness. Before Mr. Cole lived with the prince, he had lived with the Duke of Devonshire, and I had reason to believe that he carried to Devonshire-House all the observations he could make at mine. For these various reasons, just before the Duke of Kent was about to go out of the kingdom, I requested his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had been good enough to take the trouble of arranging many particulars in my establishment, to make the arrangement with respect to Mr. Cole, which was to leave him in town to wait upon me only when I went to Carlton-House, and not to come to Montague-House except when specially required. This arrangement, it seems, offended him. It certainly deprived him of some perquisites which he had when living at Blackheath; but, upon the whole, as it left him so much more of his time at his own disposal, I should not have thought it had been much to his prejudice. It seems, however, that he did not like it; and I must leave this part of the case with this one observation more—That your majesty, I trust, will hardly believe, that if Mr. Cole had, by any accident, discovered any improper conduct of mine, towards Sir Sidney Smith, or any one else, the way which I should have taken to suppress his information, to close his mouth, would have been by immediately adopting an arrangement in my family, with regard to him, which was either prejudicial or disagreeable to him; or that the way to remove him from the opportunity and the temptation of betraying my secret, whether through levity or design, in the quarter where it would be most fatal to me that it should be known, was by making an arrangement which, while all his resentment and anger were fresh and warm about him, would place him frequently, nay, almost daily, at Carlton-House; would place him precisely at that place, from whence unquestionably, it must have been my interest to have kept him as far removed as possible.

There is little or nothing in the examinations of the other witnesses which is material for me to observe upon, as far as respects this part of the case. It appears from them, indeed, what I have had no difficulty in admitting, and have observed upon before, that Sir Sidney Smith was frequently at Montague-House—that they have known him to be alone with me in the morning, but that they never knew him alone with me in an evening, or staying later than my company or the ladies; for what Mr. Stikeman says, with respect to his being alone with me in an evening, can only mean, and is only reconcileable with all the rest of the evidence on this part of the case, by its being understood to mean alone, in respect of other company, but not alone in the absence of my ladies. The deposition, indeed, of my servant, S. Roberts, is thus far material upon that point, that it exhibits Mr. Cole, not less than three years ago, endeavouring to collect evidence upon these points to my prejudice. For your majesty will find that he says—"I recollect Mr. Cole* once asking me, I think three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family. I remember saying, that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than other persons." He then proceeds—"I never knew Sir Sidney Smith stay later than the ladies; I cannot exactly say at what time he went, but I never remember his staying alone with the princess."

As to what is contained in the written declarations of Mr. and Mrs. Lampert, the old servants of Sir John and Lady Douglas, (as from some circumstances or other respecting, I conceive, either their credit or their supposed importance,) the commissioners have not thought proper to examine them upon their oaths, I do not imagine your majesty would expect that I should take any notice of them. And

* See p. 206.

as to what is deposed by my Lady Douglas, if your majesty will observe the gross and horrid indecencies with which she ushers in, and states my confessions to her, of my asserted criminal intercourse with Sir Sidney Smith. Your majesty, I am confident, will not be surprised that I do not descend to any particular observations on her deposition. One, and one only observation will I make, which, however could not have escaped your majesty if I had omitted it—That your majesty will have an excellent portraiture of the true female delicacy and purity of my Lady Douglas's mind, and character, when you will observe that she seems wholly insensible, that what a sink of infamy she degrades herself by her testimony against me. It is not only that it appears, from her statement, that she was contented to live in familiarity and apparent friendship with me, after the confession which I made of my adultery, (for by the indulgence and liberality, as it is called, of modern manners, the company of adulteresses has ceased to reflect that discredit upon the characters of other women who admit of their society, which the best interests of female virtue may perhaps require). But she was contented to live in familiarity with a woman, who, if Lady Douglas's evidence of me is true, was a most low, vulgar, and profligate disgrace to her sex; the grossness of whose ideas and conversation would add infamy to the lowest, most vulgar, and most infamous prostitute. It is not, however, upon this circumstance that I rest assured no reliance can be placed on Lady Douglas's testimony; but after what is proved, with regard to her evidence respecting my pregnancy and delivery in 1802, I am certain that any observations upon her testimony, or her veracity, must be flung away.

Your majesty has, therefore, now before you the state of the charge against me, as far as it respects Sir Sidney Smith; and this is, as I understand, the report, one of the charges *which, with its unfavourable interpretations, must, in the opi-*

nion of the commissioners, be credited till decidedly contradicted.

As to the facts of frequent visiting on terms of great intimacy, as I have said before, they cannot be contradicted at all. How inferences and unfavourable interpretations are to be decidedly contradicted, I wish the commissioners had been so good as to explain. I know of no possible way but by the declarations of myself and Sir Sidney Smith. Yet we being the supposed guilty parties, our denial, probably, will be thought of no great weight. As to my own, however, I tender it to your majesty, in the most solemn manner, and if I knew what fact it was that I ought to contradict to clear my innocence, I would precisely address myself to that fact, as I am confident my conscience will enable me to do to any, from which a criminal or an unbecoming inference could be drawn. I am sure, however, your majesty will feel for the humiliated and degraded situation, to which this report has reduced your daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; when you see her reduced to the necessity of either risking the danger, that the most unfavourable interpretations should be credited; or else of stating, as I am now degraded to the necessity of stating, that not only no adulterous or criminal, but no indecent or improper, intercourse whatever subsisted between Sir Sidney Smith and myself, or any thing which I should have objected that all the world should have seen. I say degraded to the necessity of stating it; for your majesty must feel that a woman's character is degraded when it is put upon her to make such statement, at the peril of the contrary being credited, unless she decidedly contradicts it. Sir Sidney Smith's absence from the country prevents my calling upon him to attest the same truth. But, I trust, when your majesty shall find, as you will find, that my declaration to a similar effect, with respect to the other gentlemen referred to in this report, is confirmed by their denial, that your

majesty will think that in case, where nothing but my own word can be adduced, my own word alone may be opposed to whatever little remains of credit or weight may, after all the above observations, be supposed yet to belong to Mr. Cole, to his inferences, his insinuations, or his facts. Not indeed that I have yet finished my observations on Mr. Cole's credit; but I must reserve the remainder, till I consider his evidence with respect to Mr. Lawrence; and till I have occasion to comment upon the testimony of Fanny Lloyd. Then, indeed, I shall be under the necessity of exhibiting to your majesty these witnesses, Fanny Lloyd and Mr. Cole, (both of whom are represented as so unbiased, and so credible,) in flat, decisive, and irreconcileable contradiction to each other.

The next person, with whom my improper intimacy is insinuated, is Mr. Lawrence, the painter.

The principal witness on this charge is also Mr. Cole, Mr. R. Bidgood says nothing about him. Fanny Lloyd says nothing about him; and all that Mrs. Lisle says is perfectly true, and I am neither able, nor feel interested, to contradict it. "That she remembers my sitting to Mr. Lawrence for my picture at Blackheath; and in London; that she has left me at his house in town with him, but she thinks Mrs. Fitzgerald was with us; and that she thinks I sat alone with him at Blackheath. But Mr. Cole speaks of Mr. Lawrence in a manner that calls for particular observation. He says,* "Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague-house about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting the princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the princess at eleven or twelve o'clock at night. He has been there as late as one and two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw *him with the princess in the blue-*

* See p. 202.

room, after the ladies had retired. Some time afterwards, when I supposed he haa gone to his room, I went to see that all was safe, and I found the blue-room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and I went away." Here, again, your majesty observes, that Mr. Cole deals his deadliest blows against my character by insinuation. And here, again, his insinuation is left unsifted and unexplained. I here understand him to insinuate that, though he supposed Mr. Lawrence to have gone to his room, he was still where he had said he last left him; and that the locked door prevented him from seeing me and Mr. Lawrence alone together, whose whispering, however he notwithstanding overheard.

Before, sire, I come to my own explanation of the fact of Mr. Lawrence's sleeping at Montague-house, I must again refer to Mr. Cole's original declarations. I must again examine Mr. Cole, against Mr. Cole; which I cannot help lamenting it does not seem to have occurred to others to have done; as I am persuaded if it had, his prevarications and his falsehood could never have escaped them. They would then have been able to have traced, as your majesty will now do, through my observations, by what degrees he hardened himself up to the infamy (for I can use no other expression) of stating this fact, by which he means to insinuate that he heard me and Mr. Lawrence, locked up in this blue-room, whispering together, and alone. I am sorry to be obliged to drag your majesty through so long a detail; but I am confident your majesty's goodness, and love of justice, will excuse it, as it is essential to the vindication of my character, as well as the illustration of Mr. Cole's.

Mr. Cole's examination, as contained in his first written declaration of the 11th January, has nothing of this. I mean not to say that it has nothing concerning Mr. Lawrence for it has much, which is calculated to occasion

unfavourable interpretations, and given with a view to that object. But that circumstance, as I submit to your majesty, increases the weight of my observation. Had there been nothing in his first declaration about Mr. Lawrence at all, it might have been imagined that perhaps Mr. Lawrence escaped his recollection altogether; or that his declaration had been solely directed to other persons; but as it does contain observations respecting Mr. Lawrence, but nothing of a locked door, or the whispering within it;—how he happened at that time not to recollect, or if he recollected, not to mention so very striking and remarkable a circumstance, is not, I should imagine, very satisfactorily to be explained. His statement in that * first declaration stands thus, "In 1801, Lawrence, the painter, was at Montague-house for four or five days at a time, painting the princess's picture. That he was frequently alone late in the night with the princess, and much suspicion was entertained of him." Mr. Cole's next † declaration, at least the next which appears among the written declarations, was taken on the 14th of January; it does not mention Mr. Lawrence's name, but it has this passage. "When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the princess's apartments, locked (which your majesty knows is the same which the witnesses call the blue-room,) he does not know whether any person was with her; but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions." The striking and important observation on this passage is, that when he first talks of the door of the drawing-room being locked, so far from his mentioning any thing of *whispering being overheard*, he expressly says, that he did not know that any body was with me. The passage is likewise deserving your majesty's most serious consideration on another ground. For it is one of those which shews that

* See p. 177. † P. 178.

Mr. Cole, though we have four separate declarations made by him, has certainly made other statements which have not been transmitted to your majesty; for it evidently refers to something, which he had said before, of having found the drawing-room door locked, and no trace of such a statement is discoverable in the previous examination of Mr. Cole, as I have received it, and I have no doubt that, in obedience to your majesty's commands, I have at length been furnished with the whole. I don't know, indeed, that it should be matter of complaint from me, that your majesty has not been furnished with all the statements of Mr. Cole, because from the sample I see of them, I cannot suppose that any of them could have furnished any thing favourable to me, except indeed that they might have furnished me with fresh means of contradicting him by himself.

But your majesty will see that there have been other statements not communicated; a circumstance of which both your majesty and I have reason to complain. But it may be out of its place further to notice that fact at present.

To return therefore to Mr. Cole;—in his third declaration, dated the 30th of January, there is not a word about Mr. Lawrence. In his fourth and last,* which is dated on the 23d of February, he says, "the person who was alone with the lady at late hours of the night, (twelve and one o'clock,) and whom he left sitting up after he went to bed, was Mr. Lawrence, which happened two different nights." Here is likewise another trace of a former statement which is not given; for no such person is mentioned before in any that I have been furnished with.

Your majesty then here observes that, after having given evidence in two of his declarations, respecting Mr. Lawrence by name, in which he mentions nothing of locked doors,—and after having, in another declaration, given an

* See p. 179.

account of a locked door, but expressly stated that he knew not whether any one was with me within it, and said nothing about whispering being overheard, but, impliedly, at least, negatived it;—in the deposition before the commissioners, he puts all these things together, and has the hardihood to add to them that remarkable circumstance, which could not have escaped his recollection at the first, if it had been true, "of his having, on the same night in which he found me and Mr. Lawrence alone, after the ladies were gone to bed, come again to the room when he thought Mr. Lawrence must have been retired, and found the door locked and heard the whispering;" and then again he gives another instance of his honesty, and upon the same principle on which he took no notice of the man in the great coat, he finds the door locked, hears the whispering, and then he silently and contentedly retires.

And this witness, who thus not only varies in his testimony, but contradicts himself in such important particulars, is one of those who cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias, and whose veracity is not to be questioned, and whose evidence must be credited till decidedly contradicted.

These observations might probably be deemed sufficient upon Mr. Cole's deposition, as far as it respects Mr. Lawrence; but I cannot be satisfied without explaining to your majesty, all the truth, and the particulars respecting Mr. Lawrence, which I recollect.

What I recollect then is as follows. He began a large picture of me, and of my daughter, towards the latter end of the year 1800, or the beginning of 1801. Miss Garth and Miss Hayman were in the house with me at the time. The picture was painted at Montague-house. Mr. Lawrence mentioned to Miss Hayman his wish to be permitted to remain some few nights in the house, that by rising early he might begin painting on the picture, before Princess Charlotte (whose residence being at that time at

Shooter's-hill, was enabled to come early,) or myself, came to sit. It was a similar request to that which had been made by Sir William Beechy, when he painted my picture. And I was sensible of no impropriety when I granted the request to either of them. Mr. Lawrence occupied the same room which had been occupied by SirWilliam Beechy; it was at the other end of the house from my apartment.

At that time Mr. Lawrence did not dine with me; his dinner was served in his own room. After dinner he came down to the room where I and my ladies generally sat in an evening—sometimes there was music, in which he joined, and sometimes he read poetry. Parts of Shakespeare's plays I particularly remember, from his reading them very well; and sometimes he played chess with me. It frequently may have happened that it was one or two o'clock before I dismissed Mr. Lawrence and my ladies. They, together with Mr. Lawrence, went out at the same door, up the same stair-case, and at the same time. According to my own recollection I should have said, that, in no one instance, they had left Mr. Lawrence behind them, alone with me. But I suppose it did happen once for a short time, since Mr. Lawrence so recollects it, as your majesty will perceive from his deposition, which I annex. He staid in my house two or three nights together; but how many nights in the whole I do not recollect. The picture left my house by April, 1801, and Mr. Lawrence never slept in my house afterwards. The picture now belongs to Lady Townshend. He has since completed another picture of me; and about a year and a half ago, he began another, which remains at present unfinished. I believe it is near a twelvemonth since I last sat to him.

Mr. Lawrence lives upon a footing of the greatest intimacy with the neighbouring families of Mr. Lock and Mr. Angerstein; and I have asked him sometimes to dine with me o meet them. While I was sitting to him, at my own

house, I have no doubt I must have often sat to him alone; as the necessity for the precaution of having an attendant, as a witness to protect my honour from suspicion certainly never occurred to me. And upon the same principle, I do not doubt that I may have sometimes continued in conversation with him after he had finished painting. But when sitting in his own house, I have always been attended with one of my ladies. And indeed nothing in the examinations state the contrary. One part of Mrs. Lisle's examination seems as if she had a question put to her, upon the supposition that I had been left alone with Mr. Lawrence at his own house; to which she answers, that she indeed had left me there, but that she *thinks* she left Mrs. Fitzgerald with me.

If an inference of an unfavourable nature could have been drawn from my having been left there alone; was it, sire, taking all that care which might be wished, to guard against such an inference, on the part of the commissioners, when they omitted to send for Mrs. Fitzgerald to ascertain what Mrs. Lisle may have left in doubt. The commissioners, I give them the fullest credit, were satisfied, that Mrs. Lisle thought correctly upon this fact, and that Mrs. Fitzgerald, if she had been sent for again, would so have proved it, and therefore that it would have been troubling her to no purpose. But this it is, of which I conceive myself to have most reason to complain; that the examinations in several instances, have not been followed up so as to remove unfavourable impressions.

I cannot but feel satisfied that the commissioners would have been glad to have been warranted in negativing all criminality, and all suspicion on this part of the charge, as completely and honourably as they have done on the principal charges of pregnancy and delivery. They traced that part of the charge with ability, sagacity, diligence, and perseverance; and the result was complete satisfaction of my

innocence; complete detection of the falsehood of my accusers. Encouraged by their success in that part of their inquiry, I lament that they did not, (as they thought proper to enter into the other part of it at all,) with similar industry pursue it. If they had, I am confident they would have pursued it with the same success; but though they had convicted Sir John and Lady Douglas of falsehood, they seem to have thought it *impossible to suspect* of the same falsehood, any other of the witnesses, though produced by Sir John and Lady Douglas. The most obvious means, therefore, of trying their credit, by comparing their evidence with what they had said before, seems to me to have been omitted. Many facts are left upon surmise only and insinuation; obvious means of getting further information on doubtful and suspicious circumstances are not resorted to; and, as if the important matter of the inquiry (on which a satisfactory conclusion had been formed) was all that required any very attentive or accurate consideration; the remainder of it was pursued in a manner which, as it seems to me, can only be accounted for by the pressure of what may have been deemed more important duties—and of this I should have made but little complaint, if this inquiry, where it is imperfect, had not been followed by a Report, which the most accurate only could have justified, and which such an accurate inquiry, I am confident, never could have produced.

If any credit was given to Mr. Cole's story of the locked door, and the whispering; and to Mr. Lawrence having been left with me so frequently of a night when my ladies had left us, why were not all my ladies examined? why were not all my servants examined as to their knowledge of that fact? And if they had been so examined, and had contradicted the fact so sworn to by Mr. Cole, as they must have done, had they been examined to it; that alone would have been sufficient to have removed his name from the list of unsuspected

and unquestionable witnesses, and relieved me from much of the suspicion which his evidence, till it was examined, was calculated to have raised in your majesty's mind. And to close this statement, and these observations, and in addition to them,—I most solemnly assert to your majesty, that Mr. Lawrence, neither at his own house, nor at mine, nor any where else, ever was for one moment, by night or by day, in the same room with me when the door of it was locked; that he never was in my company of an evening alone, except the momentary conversation which Mr. Lawrence speaks to, may be thought an exception; and that nothing ever passed between him and me which all the world might not have witnessed. And, sire, I have subjoined a deposition to the same effect from Mr. Lawrence.

To satisfy myself, therefore, and your majesty, I have shewn, I trust, by unanswerable observations and arguments, that there is no colour for crediting Mr. Cole, or, consequently any part of this charge, which rests solely on his evidence. But to satisfy the requisition of the commissioners, I have brought my pride to submit, (though not without great pain, I can assure your majesty) to add the only contradictions which I conceive can be given, those of Mr. Lawrence and myself.

The next person with whom these examinations charge my improper familiarity, and with regard to which the Report represents the evidence as particularly strong, is Captain Manby. With respect to him, Mr. Cole's examination is silent. But the evidence, on which the commissioners rely on this part of the case, is Mr. Bidgood's, Miss Fanny Lloyd's, and Mrs. Lisle's. It respects my conduct at three different places; at Montague-house, Southend, and Ramsgate. I shall preserve the facts and my observations more distinct, if I consider the evidence as applicable to these three places, separately and in its order; and I prefer this mode of treating it, as it will enable me to consider the evi-

dence of Mrs. Lisle in the first place, and consequently put it out of the reach of the harsher observations, which I may be under the necessity of making, upon the testimony of the other two. For though Mrs. Lisle, indeed, speaks to having seen Captain Manby at East Cliff, in August, 1803, to the best of her remembrance it was only once; she speaks to his meeting her at Deal, in the same season; that he landed there with some boys whom I took on charity, and who were under his care; yet she speaks of nothing there that can require a single observation from me. The material parts of her evidence respect her seeing him at Blackheath, the Christmas before she had seen him at East Cliff. She says, "it was the Christmas after Mr. Austin's child came, consequently the Christmas 1802-3. He used to come to dine there, she says, he always went away in her presence, and she had no reason to think he staid after the ladies retired. He lodged on the Heath at that time; his ship was fitting up at Deptford; he came to dinner three or four times a week, or more. She supposes he might be alone with the princess, but that she was in the habit of seeing gentlemen and tradesmen without her being present. She (Mrs. Lisle) has seen him at luncheon and dinner both. The boys (two boys) came with him two or three times, but not to dinner. Captain Manby always sat next the princess at dinner. The constant company were Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and herself—all retired with the princess, and sat in the same room. Captain Manby generally retired about eleven; and sat with us all till then. Captain Manby and the princess used, when we were together, to be speaking together separately, conversing separately, but not in a room alone. He was a person with whom the princess appeared to have greater pleasure in talking than with her ladies. Her royal highness behaved to him ONLY *as any woman would who likes flirting. She (Mrs. Lisle) would not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly,*

who behaved as her royal highness did to Captain Manby. She can't say whether the princess was attached to Captain Manby, only that it was a flirting conduct. She never saw any gallantries, as kissing her hand, or the like."

I have cautiously stated the whole of Mrs. Lisle's evidence upon this part of the case; and I am sure your majesty in reading it, will not fail to keep the facts, which Mrs. Lisle speaks to, separate from the opinion, or judgment, which she forms upon them. I mean not to speak disrespectfully, or slightingly of Mrs. Lisle's opinion, or express myself as in any degree indifferent to it. But whatever there was which she observed in my conduct, that did not become a married woman, that "was ONLY like a woman who liked flirting," and "ONLY a flirting conduct," I am convinced your majesty must be satisfied that it must have been far distant from affording any evidence of crime, of vice, or of indecency, as it passed openly in the company of my ladies, of whom Mrs. Lisle herself was one.

The facts she states are, that Captain Manby came very frequently to my house; that he dined there three or four times a week in the latter end of the year 1802; that he sat next to me at dinner; and that my conversation after dinner in the evening, used to be with Captain Manby, separate from my ladies. These are the facts: and is it upon them that my character, I will not say, is to be taken away, but is to be *affected?*

Captain Manby had, in the autumn of the same year, been introduced to me by Lady Townshend, when I was upon a visit to her at Rainham. I think he came there only the day before I left it. He was a naval officer, as I understood, and as I still believe, of great merit. What little expense, in the way of charity, I am able to afford, I am best pleased to dedicate to the education of the children of poor, but honest persons; and I most generally bring them up to the service of the navy. I had at that time two boys at

school, whom I thought of an age fit to be put to sea. I desired Lady Townshend to prevail upon Captain Manby to take them. He consented to it, and of course I was obliged to him.

About this time, or shortly afterwards, he was appointed to the Africaine, a ship which was fitting up at Deptford. To be near his ship, as I understood and believe, he took lodgings at Blackheath; and as to the mere fact of his being so frequently at my house,—his intimacy and friendship with Lord and Lady Townshend, which of itself was assurance to me of his respectability and character—my pleasure in shewing my respect to them, by notice and attention to a friend of theirs,—his undertaking the care of my charity boys, —and his accidental residence at Blackheath, will, I should trust, not unreasonably account for it. I have a similar account likewise to give of paying for the linen furniture, with which his cabin was furnished. Wishing to make him some return for his trouble with the boys, I desired that I might choose the pattern of his furniture. I not only chose it, but had it sent to him, and paid the bill; finding however, that it did not come to more than about twenty pounds, I thought it a shabby present, and therefore added some trifling present of plate. So I have frequently done, and I hope without offence may be permitted to do again to any Captain, on whom I impose such trouble. Sir Samuel Hood has now two of my charity boys with him; and I have presented him with a silver epergne. I should be ashamed to notice such things, but your majesty perceives, that they are made the subject of inquiry from Mrs. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Stikeman, and I was desirous that they should not appear to be particular in the case of Captain Manby.

But to return to Mrs. Lisle's examination. Mrs. Lisle says, that Captain Manby, when he dined with me, sat next to me at dinner. Before any inference is drawn from that fact, I am sure your majesty will observe that, in the next

line of Mrs. Lisle's examination, she says "that the constant company was Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and herself, Mrs. Lisle." The only gentleman, the only person of the whole party, who was not of my own family, was Captain Manby; and his sitting next to me, under such circumstances, I should apprehend could not possibly afford any inference of any kind. In the evening we were never alone. The whole company sat together; nay even as to his being with me alone of the morning, Mrs. Lisle seems to know nothing of the fact, but from a conjecture founded upon her knowledge of my known usual habit, with respect to seeing a gentleman who might call upon me. And the very foundation of her conjecture demonstrates that this circumstance can be no evidence of any thing particular with regard to Captain Manby.

As to my conversing with Captain Manby separately, I do not understand Mrs. Lisle as meaning to speak to the state of the conversation uninterruptedly, during the whole of any of the several evenings when Captain Manby was with me; if I did so understand her, I should certainly most confidently assert that she was not correct. That in the course of the evening, as the ladies were working, reading, or otherwise amusing themselves, the conversation was sometimes more and sometimes less general; and that they sometimes took more, sometimes less part in it;—that frequently it was between Captain Manby and myself alone;—and that when we were all together, we two might frequently be the only persons not otherwise engaged, and therefore be justly said to be speaking together separately. Besides, Captain Manby has been round the world with Captain Vancovre. I have looked over prints in books of voyages with him; he has explained them to me; the ladies may or may not have been looking over them at the same time; they may have been engaged with their own amusements. Here, again, we may be said to have been conversing separately, and

consequently that Mrs. Lisle, in this sense, is perfectly justified in saying that "I used to converse separately with Captain Manby," I have not the least difficulty in admitting. But have I not again reason to complain that this expression of Mrs. Lisle's was not more sifted, but left in a manner calculated to raise an impression that this separate conversation was studiously sought for, was constant, uniform, and uninterrupted, though it by no means asserts any such thing? But whether I used *always* so to converse with him; or *generally*, or only *sometimes*, or for what proportion of the evening I used to be so engaged, is left unasked and unexplained. Have I not likewise just reason to complain, that though Mrs. Lisle states, that Mrs. Fitzgerald and Miss Fitzgerald were always of the party, they are not both examined to these circumstances? But Miss Fitzgerald is not examined at all; and Mrs. Fitzgerald, though examined, and examined too with respect to Captain Manby, does not appear to have had a single question put to her with respect to any thing which passed concerning him at Montague-house. May I not therefore complain that the examination, leaving the generality of Mrs. Lisle's expression unexplained by herself; and the scenes to which it relates unexamined into, by calling the other persons who were present, is leaving it precisely in that state, which is better calculated to raise a suspicion, than to ascertain the truth?

But I am persuaded that the unfavourable impression which is most likely to be made by Mrs. Lisle's examination, is not by her evidence to the facts, but by her opinion upon them. "I appeared," she says, "to like the conversation of Captain Manby better than that of my ladies. I behaved to him *only* as a woman who likes flirting; my conduct was unbecoming a married woman; she cannot say whether I was attached to Captain Manby or not; it was *only* a flirting conduct."—Now, sire, I must here again

most seriously complain that the commissioners should have called for, or received, and much more reported, in this manner, the *opinion* and *judgment* of Mrs. Lisle upon my conduct. Your majesty's warrant purports to authorize them to collect the evidence, and not the opinion of others; and to report it, with their own judgment surely, and not Mrs. Lisle's. Mrs. Lisle's judgment was formed upon those facts which she stated to the commissioners, or upon other facts. If upon those she stated, the commissioners and your majesty are as well able to form the judgment upon them as she was. If upon other facts, the commissioners should have heard what those other facts were, and upon them have formed and reported their judgment.

I am aware, indeed, that if I were to argue that the facts which Mrs. Lisle states, afford the explanation of what she means by "only flirting conduct," and by "behaviour unbecoming a married woman," namely, that it consisted in having the same gentleman to dine with me three or four times a week;—letting him sit next me at dinner, when there were no other strangers in company;—conversing with him separately, and appearing to prefer his conversation to that of the ladies,—it would be observed probably, that this was not all; that there was always a certain indescribable something in *manner*, which gave the character to conduct, and must have entered mainly into such a judgment as Mrs. Lisle has here pronounced.

To a certain extent I should be obliged to agree to this; but if I am to have any prejudice from this observation; if it is to give a weight and authority to Mrs. Lisle'a judgment, let me have the advantage of it also. If it justifies the conclusion that Mrs. Lisle's censure upon my conduct is right, it requires also that equal credit should be given to the qualification, the limit, and the restriction, which she herself puts upon that censure.

Mrs. Lisle, seeing all the facts which she relates, and

observing much of manner, which perhaps she could not describe, limits the expression "flirting conduct" by calling it "only flirting," and (upon having the question asked to her, no doubt, whether from the whole she could collect that I was attached to Captain Manby) says "she could not say whether I was attached to him, my conduct was not of a nature that proved any attachment to him, it was only a flirting conduct." Unjust, therefore, as I think it, that any such question should have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or that her judgment should have been taken at all; yet what I fear from it, as pressing with peculiar hardship upon me, is, that though it is Mrs. Lisle's final and ultimate judgment upon the whole of my conduct, yet, when delivered to the commissioners and your majesty, it becomes evidence, which connected with all the facts on which Mrs. Lisle had formed it, may lead to still further and more unfavourable conclusions, in the minds of those who are afterwards to judge upon it;—that her judgment will be the foundation of other judgments against me, much severer than her own; and that though she evidently limits her opinion, and by saying "ONLY flirting" impliedly negatives it as affording any indication of any thing more improper, while she proceeds *expressly* to negative it as affording any proof of attachment; yet it may be thought by others to justify their considering it as a species of conduct, which shewed an attachment to the man to whom it was addressed; which in a married woman was criminal and wrong.

What Mrs. Lisle exactly means by *only flirting* conduct—what degree of impropriety of conduct she would describe by it, it is extremely difficult, with any precision, to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from that want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays them

into, conduct themselves in a manner, which a woman of a graver character, of more reserved disposition, but not with one particle of superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say in that opinion, was flirting?

But whatever sense Mrs. Lisle annexes to the word "flirting" it is evident, as I said before, that she cannot mean any thing criminal, vicious, or indecent, or any thing with the least shade of deeper impropriety than what is necessarily expressed in the word "flirting." She never would have added, as she does in both instances, that it was ONLY flirting; if she had thought it of a quality to be recorded in a formal report, amongst circumstances which *must* occasion the *most* unfavourable interpretations, and which deserved the most serious consideration of your majesty. To use it so, I am sure your majesty must see, is to press it far beyond the meaning which she would assign to it herself.

And as I have admitted that there may be much indescribable in the manner of doing any thing, so it must be admitted to me that there is much indescribable, and most material also, in the manner of saying any thing, and in the accent with which it is said. The whole context serves much to explain it; and if it is in answer to a question, the words of that question, the manner and the accent in which it is asked, are also most material to understand the precise meaning, which the expressions are intended to convey; and I must lament, therefore, extremely, if my character is to be affected by the opinion of any witness, that the questions by which that opinion was drawn from her were not given too, as well as her answers, and if this inquiry had been prosecuted before your majesty's privy council, the more solemn and usual course of proceeding there, would, as I am informed, have furnished, or enabled me to

furnish, your majesty with the questions as well as the answers.

Mrs. Lisle, it should also be observed, was, at the time of her examination, under the severe oppression of having, but a few days before, heard of the death of her daughter; a daughter who had been happily married, and who had lived happily with her husband in mutual attachment till her death. The very circumstance of her then situation would naturally give a graver and severer cast to her opinions. When the question was proposed to her as a general question, (and I presume it must have been so put to her,) whether my conduct was such as would become a married woman, possibly her own daughter's conduct, and what she would have expected of her might present itself to her mind. And I confidently submit to your majesty's better judgment, that such a general question ought not, in a fair and candid consideration of my case, to have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or any other woman. For as to my conduct being or not being becoming a married woman, the same conduct, or any thing like it, which may occur in my case, could not occur in the case of a married woman, who was not living in my unfortunate situation; or, if it did occur, it must occur under circumstances which must give it, and most deservedly, a very different character. A married woman, living well and happily with her husband, could not be frequently having one gentleman at her table, with no other company but ladies of her family;—she could not be spending her evenings frequently in the same society, and separately conversing with that gentleman, unless either with the privity and consent of her husband, or by taking advantage, with some management, of his ignorance and his absence;—if it was with his privity and consent, that very circumstance alone would unquestionably alter the character of such conduct;—if with management she avoided his knowledge, that very management would betray a bad

motive. The cases, therefore, are not parallel; the illustration is not just; and the question which called for such an answer from Mrs. Lisle, ought not in candour and fairness to have been put.

I entreat your majesty, however, not to misunderstand me; I should be ashamed, indeed, to be suspected of pleading any peculiar or unfortunate circumstance, in my situation, as an excuse for any criminal or indecent act. With respect to such acts, most unquestionably such circumstance can make no difference—can afford no excuse. They must bear their own character of disgrace and infamy under all circumstances. But there are acts which are unbecoming a married woman, which ought to be avoided by her, from an apprehension lest they should render her husband uneasy, not because they might give him any reason to distrust her chastity, her virtue, or her morals, but because they might wound his feelings, by indicating a preference to the society of another man, over his, in a case where she had the option of both. But surely, as to such acts, they must necessarily bear a very different character, and receive a very different construction, in a case where, unhappily, there can be no such apprehension, and where there is no such option. I must, therefore, be excused for dwelling so much upon this part of the case; and I am sure your majesty will feel me warranted in saying, what I say with a confidence, exactly proportioned to the respectability of Mrs. Lisle's character, that whatever she meant by any of these expressions, she could not by possibility have meant to describe conduct, which to her mind afforded evidence of crime, vice, or indecency. If she had, her regard to her own character, her own delicacy, her own honourable and virtuous feelings, would, in less than the two years, which have since elapsed, have found some excuse for separating herself from that intimate connexion, which, by her situation in my household, subsists between

us. She would not have remained exposed to the repetition of so gross an offence and insult to a modest, virtuous, and delicate woman, as that of being made night by night witness to scenes, openly acted in her presence, offensive to virtue and decorum.

If your majesty thinks I have dwelt too long and tediously on this part of the case, I entreat your majesty to think what I must feel upon it. I feel it a great hardship, as I have frequently stated, that, under the cover of a grave charge of high treason, the proprieties and decencies of my private conduct and behaviour have been made the subject, as I believe so unprecedently, of a formal investigation upon oath; and that, in consequence of it, I may at this moment be exposed to the danger of forfeiting your majesty's good opinion, and being degraded and disgraced in reputation through the country, because what Mrs. Lisle has said of my conduct—that it was "only that of a woman who liked flirting," has become recorded in the report on this formal inquiry, made into matters of grave crimes, and of essential importance to the state.

Let me conjure your majesty, over and over again, before you suffer this circumstance to prejudice me in your opinion, not only to weigh all the circumstances I have stated, but to look round the first ranks of female virtue, in this country, and see how many women there are of most unimpeached reputation, of most unsullied and unsuspected honour, character, and virtue, whose conduct, though living happily with their husbands, if submitted to the judgment of persons of a severer cast of mind, especially if saddened at the moment by calamity, might be styled to be "flirting." I would not, however, be understood as intending to represent Mrs. Lisle's judgment, as being likely to be marked with any improper austerity, and, therefore, I am certain she must either have had no idea that the expressions she had used, in a manner which she used them,

were capable of being understood, in so serious a light as to be referred to, amongst circumstances deserving the most serious consideration, and which must occasion most unfavourable interpretations; or she must by the imposing novelty of her situation, in private examination before four such grave characters, have been surprised into the use o expressions, which, with a better opportunity of weighing them, she would either not have used at all, or have accompanied with still more of qualification than that which she has, however, in some degree as it is, annexed to them.

But my great complaint is the having, not particularly Mrs. Lisle's opinion, but any person's opinion, set up, as it were, in judgment against the propriety of my private conduct. How would it be endured, that the judgment of one man should be asked, and recorded in a solemn report, against the conduct of another, either with respect to his behaviour to his children, or to his wife, or to any other relative? How would it be endured in general; and I trust that my case ought not, in this respect, to form an exception, that one woman should in a similar manner be placed in judgment upon the conduct of another? And that judgment be reported where her character was of most importance to her, as amongst things which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? Let every one put these questions home to their own breasts; and before they impute blame to me, for protesting against the fairness and justice of this procedure, ask how they would feel upon it, if it were their own case?

But, perhaps, they cannot bring their imaginations to conceive that it could ever become their own case. A few months ago, I could not have believed that it would have been mine.

But the just ground of my complaint may, perhaps, be more easily appreciated and felt, by supposing a more familiar, but an analogous case. The high treason with which I was charged was supposed to be committed in the

foul crime of adultery. What would be the impression of your majesty—what would be the impression upon the mind of any one, acquainted with the excellent laws of your majesty's kingdom, and the admirable administration of them, if upon a commission of this kind, secretly to inquire into the conduct of any man, upon a charge of high treason against the state, the commissioners should not only proceed to inquire, whether, in the judgment of the witness, the conduct of the accused was such as became a loyal subject; but, when the result of their inquiry obliged them to report directly against the charge of treason, they nevertheless should record an imputation, or libel, against his character for loyalty, and reporting, as part of the evidence, the opinion of the witness, that the conduct of the accused was such as did not become a loyal subject, should further report, that the evidence of that witness, without specifying any part of it, must be credited till decidedly contradicted, and deserved the most serious consideration? How could he appeal from that report? How could he decidedly contradict the opinion of the witness? Sire, there is no difference between this supposed case and mine, but this. That in the case of the man, a character for loyalty, however injured, could not be destroyed by such an insinuation. His future life might give him abundant opportunities of falsifying the justice of it. But a female character once so blasted, what hope or chance has it of recovery?

Your majesty will not fail to perceive, that I have pressed this part of the case with an earnestness which shews that I have felt it. I have no wish to disguise from your majesty, that I have felt it, and felt it strongly. It is the only part of the case which I conceive to be in the least degree against me, that rests upon a witness who is at all worthy of your majesty's credit. How unfair it is, that any thing she has said should be pressed against me, I trust I have sufficiently shewn. In canvassing, however, Mrs. Lisle's evidence I hope I have never forgot what was due to

Mrs. Lisle. I have been as anxious not to do her injustice, as to do justice to myself. I retain the same respect and regard for Mrs. Lisle now as I ever had. If the unfavourable impressions, which the commissioners seem to suppose, fairly arise out of the expressions she has used, I am confident they will be understood in a sense which was never intended by her. And I should scorn to purchase any advantage to myself, at the expense of the slightest imputation unjustly cast upon Mrs. Lisle, or any one else.

Leaving, therefore, with these observations Mrs. Lisle's evidence, I must proceed to the evidence of Mr. Bidgood. The parts of it which apply to this part of the case, I mean my conduct to Captain Manby at Montague-House, I shall detail. They are as follows* :—I first observed Captain Manby came to Montague-House either the end of 1803 or the beginning of 1804. I was waiting one day in the ante-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away: he was a long time with the princess, and, as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and in the reflection on the looking glass I saw them salute each other. I mean that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room."—In his second deposition, on the 3d July, talking of his suspicions of what passed at Southend, he says, they arose from seeing them kiss each other, as I mentioned before, like people fond of each other; a very close kiss."

In these extracts from his depositions, there can undoubtedly be no complaint of any thing being left to inference. Here is a fact which must unquestionably occasion almost

* See p. 200.

as unfavourable interpretations, as any fact of the greatest impropriety and indecorum, short of the proof of actual crime. And this fact is positively and affirmatively sworn to. And if this witness is truly represented, as one who must be credited till he is decidedly contradicted; and the decided contradiction of the parties accused should be considered as unavailing, it constitutes a charge which cannot possibly be answered. For the scene is so laid, that there is no eye to witness it but his own; and, therefore, there can be no one who can possibly contradict him, however false his story may be, but the persons whom he accused. As for me, sire, there is no mode, the most solemn that can be devised, in which I shall not be anxious and happy to contradict it. And I do here most solemnly, in the face of Heaven, most directly and positively affirm, that it is as foul, malicious, and wicked a falsehood, as ever was invented by the malice of man. Captain Manby, to whom I have been under the necessity of applying for that purpose in the deposition which I annex, most expressly and positively denies it also. Beyond these our two denials, there is nothing which can by possibility be *directly* opposed to Mr. Bidgood's evidence. All that remains to be done is to examine Mr. Bidgood's credit, and to see how far he deserves the character which the commissioners give to him. How unfoundedly they gave such a character to Mr. Cole, your majesty, I am satisfied, must be fully convinced.

I suppose there must be some mistake, I will not call it by any harsher name, for I think it can be no more than a mistake, in Mr. Bidgood's saying, that the first time he knew Captain Manby come to Montague-House, was at the end of 1803 or beginning of 1804; for he first came at the end of the former year*; and the fact is, that Mr.

* Before 1803.

Bidgood must have seen him then. But, however, the date is comparatively immaterial, the fact it is, that is important.

And here, sire, surely I have the same complaint which I have so often urged. I would ask your majesty, whether I, not as a Princess of Wales, but as a party accused, had not a right to be thought, and to be presumed, innocent till I was proved to be guilty? Let me ask, if there ever could exist a case, in which the credit of the witness ought to have been more severely sifted and tried? The fact rested solely upon his single assertion. However false, it could not possibly receive contradiction, but from the parties. The story itself surely is not very probable. My character cannot be considered as under inquiry; it is already gone, and decided upon by those, if there are any such, who think such a story probable. That in a room, with the door open, and a servant known to be waiting just by, we should have acted such a scene of gross indecency. The indiscretion, at least, might have rendered it improbable, even to those whose prejudices against me might be prepared to conceive nothing improbable in the indecency of it. Yet this seems to have been received as a fact, that there was no reason to question. The witness is assumed, without hesitation, to be the witness of truth, of unquestionable veracity. Not the faintest trace is there to be found of a single question put to him, to try and sift the credit which was due to him, or to his story.

Is he asked, as I suggested before should have been done with regard to Mr. Cole—to whom he told this fact before? When he told it? What was done in consequence of this information? If he never told it till for the purpose of supporting Lady Douglas's statement, how could he in his situation, as an old servant of the prince, with whom, as he swears, he had lived twenty-three years, creditably to himself, account for having concealed it so long? And how came Lady Douglas and Sir John to find out that he knew it, if

he never had communicated it before? If he had communicated it, it would then have been useful to have heard how far his present story was consistent with his former; and, if it should have happened that this and other matters, which he may have stated, were at that time made the subject of any inquiry, then how far that inquiry had tended to confirm or shake his credit. His first examination was, it is true, taken by Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer alone, without the aid of the experience of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice; this, undoubtedly, may *account* for the omission. But the noble lords will forgive me if I say, it does not *excuse* it, especially as Mr. Bidgood was examined again on the 3d of July, by all the commissioners; and this fact is again referred to then, as the foundation of the suspicion which he afterwards entertained of Captain Manby at Southend. Nay, that last deposition affords, on my part, another ground of similar complaint of the strongest kind. It opens thus: "The princess used to go out in her phaeton with coachman and helper, towards Long Reach, eight or ten times, carrying luncheon and wine with her, when Captain Manby's ship was at Long Reach, *always Mrs. Fitzgerald with her.* She would go out at one, and return about five or six, sometimes sooner or later."

The date when Captain Manby's ship was lying at Long Reach, is not given; and therefore whether this was before or after the scene of the supposed salute does not appear. But for what was this statement of Mr. Bidgood's made? Why was it introduced? Why were these drives towards Long Reach with luncheon, connected with Captain Manby's ship lying there at the time, examined to by the commissioners? The first point, the matter foremost in their minds, when they call back this witness for his re-examination, appears to have been these drives towards Long Reach. Can it have been for any purpose but to have the benefit of the insinuation, to leave it open to be inferred,

that those drives were for the purpose of meeting Captain Manby? If this fact was material, why in the name of justice was it so left? Mrs. Fitzgerald was mentioned by name, as accompanying me in them all; Why was not she called? She perhaps was my confidante; no truth could have been hoped for from her;—still there were my coachman and helper, who likewise accompanied me; Why were they not called? they are not surely confidants too. But it is, for what reason I cannot pretend to say, thought sufficient to leave this fact, or rather this insinuation, upon the evidence of Mr. Bidgood, who only saw, or could see, the way I went when I set out upon my drive, instead of having the fact from the persons who could speak to the whole of it; to the places I went to; to the persons whom I met with.

Your majesty will think me justified in dwelling upon this, the more from this circumstance, because I know, and will shew to your majesty, on the testimony of Jonathan Partridge, which I annex, that these drives, or at least one of them, have been already the object of previous, and I believe nearly cotemporary investigation. The truth is, that it did happen upon two of these drives that I met with Captain Manby; IN ONE of them that he joined me, and went with me to Lord Eardley's, at Belvidere, and that he partook of something which we had to eat;—that some of Lord Eardley's servants were examined as to my conduct upon this occasion;—and I am confidently informed that the servants gave a most satisfactory account of all that passed; nay, that they felt, and have expressed some honest indignation at the foul suspicion which the examination implied. On the other occasion, having the boys to go on board the Africaine, I went with one of my ladies to see them on board, and Captain Manby joined us in our walk round Mr. Calcraft's grounds at Ingress Park, opposite to Long Reach; where we walked, while my horses were baiting. We went into no house, and on that occasion had nothing to eat.

Perfectly unable to account why these facts were not more fully inquired into if thought proper to be inquired into at all, I return again to Mr. Bidgood's evidence. As far as it respects my conduct at Montague-house, it is confined to the circumstances which I have already mentioned. And, upon those circumstances, I have no further observation, which may tend to illustrate Mr. Bidgood's credit, to offer. But I trust if, from other parts of his evidence, your majesty sees traces of the strongest prejudices against me, and the most scandalous inferences drawn from circumstances, which can in no degree support them, your majesty will then be able justly to appreciate the credit due to every part of Mr. Bidgood's evidence.

Under the other head into which I have divided this part of the case, I mean my conduct at Southend, as relative to Captain Manby, and Mr. Bidgood is more substantial and particular. His statement on this head begins by shewing that I was at Southend about six weeks before the Africaine, Captain Manby's ship, arrived. That Mr. Sicard was looking out for its arrival, as if she was expected. And as it is my practice to require as constant a correspondence to be kept up with my charity boys, when on board of ship, as the nature of their situation will admit of, and as Mr. Sicard is the person who manages all matters concerning them, and enters into their interests with the most friendly anxiety, he certainly was apprized of the probability of the ship's arrival off Southend, before she came. And here I may as well, perhaps, by the way, remark, that as this correspondence with the boys is always under cover to the captain; this circumstance may account to your majesty for the fact, which is stated by some of the witnesses, of several letters being put into the post by Sicard, some of which he may have received from me, which were directed to Captain Manby.

Soon after the arrival of the Africaine, however, Bidgood says, the captain put off in his boat, Sicard went to meet

him, and immediately brought him up to me and my ladies; he dined there then, and came frequently to see me. It would have been as candid, if Mr. Bidgood had represented the fact as it really was, though perhaps the circumstance is not very material: that the Captain brought the two boys on shore with him to see me, and this, as well as many other circumstances connected with these boys, the existence of whom, as accounting in any degree for the intercourse between me and Captain Manby, could never have been collected from out of Bidgood's depositions, Sicard would have stated, if the commissioners had examined him to it. But though he is thus referred to, though his name is mentioned about the letters sent to Captain Manby, he does not appear to have been examined to any of them, and all that he appears to have been asked is, as to his remembering Captain Manby visiting at Montague-house, and to my paying the expense of the linen furniture for his cabin. But Mr. Sicard was, I suppose, represented by my enemies to be a confidant, from whom no truth could be extracted, and therefore that it was idle waste of time to examine him to such points; and so unquestionably he, and every other honest servant in my family, who could be supposed to know any thing upon the subject, were sure to be represented by those, whose conspiracy and falsehood, their honesty and truth were the best means of detecting. The conspirators, however, had the first word, and unfortunately their veracity was not questioned, nor their unfavourable bias suspected.

Mr. Bidgood then proceeds to state the situation of the houses, two of which, with a part of a third, I had at South-end. He describes No. 9, as the house in which I slept; No. 8, as that in which we dined; and No. 7, as containing a drawing-room, to which we retired after dinner. And he says, "I have several times seen the princess, after having gone to No. 7 with Captain Manby and the rest of the

company, retire with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, to No. 9, which was the house where the princess slept. I *suspect* that Captain Manby slept very frequently in the house. Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself." What those hints were, by what servants given, are things which do no not seem to have been thought necessary matters of inquiry. At least, there is no trace in Mr. Bidgood's, or any other witness's examination, of any such inquiry having been made.

In his second deposition, which applies to the same fact, after saying that we went away the day after the Africaine sailed from Southend, he says, "Captain Manby was there three times a week at the least, whilst his ship lay for six weeks off Southend at the Nore;—he came as tide served in a morning, and to dine, and drink tea. I have seen him *next* morning by ten o'clock. I suspected he slept at No. 9, the princess's.—She always put out the candles herself in drawing-room at No. 9, and bid me not wait to put them up. She gave me the orders as soon as she went to Southend. I used to see water-jugs, basons, and towels, set out opposite the princess's door in the passage. Never saw them so left in the passage at any other time, and I suspected he was there at that time; there was a general suspicion through the house. Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald there, and Miss Hammond (now Mrs. Hood) there. My suspicions arose from seeing them in the glass," &c., as mentioned before.—"Her behaviour like that of a woman attached to a man: used to be by themselves at luncheon, at Southend, when the ladies were not sent for;—a number of times. There was a poney which Captain Manby used to ride; it stood in the stable ready for him, and which Sicard used to ride." Then he says, the servants used to talk and laugh about Captain Manby, and that it was matter of discourse amongst them; and this, with what has been

alluded to before, respecting Sicard's putting letters for him in the post, which he had received from me, contains the whole of his deposition as far as respects Captain Manby. And, sire, as to the fact of retiring through No. 8, from No. 7, to No. 9, alone with Captain Manby, I have no recollection of ever having gone with Captain Manby, though but for a moment, from the one room in which the company was sitting, through the dining-room to the other drawing-room. It is, however, now above two years ago, and to be confident that such a circumstance might not have happened, is more than I will undertake to be. But in the only sense in which he uses the expression, as retiring alone, coupled with the immediate context that follows, it is most false and scandalous. I know no means of absolutely proving a negative. If the fact was true, there must have been other witnesses who could have proved it as well as Mr. Bidgood. Mrs. Fitzgerald is the only person of the party who was examined, and her evidence proves the negative, so far as the negative can be proved; for she says, "he dined there, but never staid late. She was at Southend all the time I was there, and cannot recollect to have seen Captain Manby there, or known him to be there, later than nine, or half-past nine." Miss Fitzgerald and Miss Hammond, (now Mrs. Hood) are not called to this fact; although a fact so extremely important, as it must appear to your majesty; nor indeed are they examined at all.

As to the putting out of the candles, it seems, he says, I gave the orders as soon as I went to Southend, which was six weeks before the Africaine arrived; so this plan of excluding him from the opportunity of knowing what was going on at No. 9, was part of a long meditated scheme, as he would represent it, planned and thought of six weeks before it could be executed; and which when it was executed, your majesty will recollect, according to Mr. Bid-

good's evidence, there was so little contrivance to conceal, that the basons and towels, which the Captain is insinuated to have used, were exposed to sight, as if to declare that he was there.—It is tedious and disgusting, sire, I am well aware, to trouble your majesty with such particulars; but it doubtless is true, that I bid him not take the candles away from No. 9. The candles which are used in my drawing-room are considered as his perquisites. Those, on the contrary, which are used in my private apartment are the perquisites of my maid. I thought that upon the whole it was a fairer arrangement, when I was at Southend, to give my maid the perquisites of the candles used at No. 9; and I made the arrangement accordingly, and ordered Mr. Bidgood to leave them. This, sire, is the true account of the fact respecting the candles; an arrangement which very possibly Mr. Bidgood did not like.

But the putting out the candles myself was not the only thing, from which the inference is drawn, that Captain Manby slept at my house, at No. 9, and as is evidently insinuated, if not stated, in my bed-room. There were water-jugs, and basons, and towels left in the passage, which Mr. Bidgood never saw at other times. At what other times does he mean? At other times than those at which he suspected, from seeing them there, that Captain Manby slept in my house? If every time he saw the bason and towels, &c. in the passage, he suspected Captain Manby slept there, it certainly would follow that he never saw them at times when he did not suspect that fact. But, sire, upon this important fact, important to the extent of convicting me, if it were true, of high treason, if it were not for the indignation which such scandalous, licentious wickedness and malice excite, it would hardly be possible to treat it with any gravity. Whether there were or were not basons and towels sometimes left in a passage at Southend, which were not there generally, and ought to have been never there,

I really cannot inform your majesty. It certainly is possible, but the utmost it can prove, I should trust, might be some slovenliness in my servant, who did not put them in their proper places; but surely it must be left to Mr. Bidgood alone to trace any evidence, from such a circumstance, of the crime of adultery in me. But I cannot thus leave this fact, for I trust I shall here again have the same advantage from the excess and extravagance of this man's malice, as I have already had on the other part of the charge, from the excess and extravagance of his confederate Lady Douglas.

What is the charge that he would insinuate? That I meditated and effected a stolen, secret, clandestine, intercourse with an adulterer? No.—Captain Manby, it seems, according to his insinuation, slept with me in my own house, under circumstances of such notoriety, that it was impossible that any of my female attendants at least should not have known it. Their duties were varied on the occasion; they had to supply basons and towels in places where they never were supplied, except when prepared for him; and they were not only purposely so prepared, but prepared in an open passage, exposed to view, in a manner to excite the suspicion of those who were not admitted into the secret. And what a secret was it, that was thus to be hazarded! No less than what, if discovered, would fix Captain Manby and myself with high treason! Not only, therefore, must I have been thus careless of reputation, and eager for infamy; but I must have been as careless of my life as of my honour.—Lost to all sense of shame, surely I must have still retained some regard for life.—Captain Manby too, with a folly and madness equal to his supposed iniquity, must then have put his life in the hands of my servants, and depended for his safety upon their fidelity to me, and their perfidy to the prince, their master. If the excess of vice and crime in all this is believed, could its indiscretion, its

madness, find credulity to adopt it almost upon any evidence? But what must be the state of that man's mind, as to prejudice, who could come to the conclusion of believing it, from the fact of some water-jugs and towels being found in an unusual place, in a passage near my bed-room? For as to his suspicion being raised by what he says he saw in the looking-glass, if it was as true as it is false, that could not occasion his believing, on any particular night, that Captain Manby slept in my house; the situation of these towels and basons is what leads to that belief.

But, sire, may I ask, did the commissioners believe this man's suspicions? If they did, what do they mean by saying that these facts of great indecency, &c. went to a much less extent than the principal charges? And that it was not for them to state their bearing and effect? The bearing of this fact unquestionably, if believed, is the same as that of the principal charge; namely, to prove me guilty of high treason. They therefore could not believe it. But if they did not believe it, and, as it seems to me, sire, no men of common judgment could, on such a statement how could they bring themselves to name Mr. Bidgood as one of those witnesses on whose unbiassed testimony they could so rely? or how could they, (in pointing him out with the other three as speaking to facts, *particularly with respect to Captain Manby*, which must be credited till decidedly contradicted) omit to specify the facts which he spoke to that they thus thought worthy of belief, but leave the whole, including this incredible part of it, recommended to belief by their general and unqualified sanction and approbation.

But the falsehood of this charge does not rest on its incredibility alone. My servant, Mrs. Sander, who attended constantly on my person, and whose bed-room was close to mine, was examined by the commissioners; she must have known this fact if it had been true. She positively swears "that she did not know or believe that

Captain Manby staid till very late hours with me—that she never suspected there was any improper familiarity between us." M. Wilson, who made my bed, swears, that she had been in the habit of making it ever since she lived with me, that another maid, whose name was Ann Bye, assisted with her in making it, and swears from what she observed, she never had any reason to believe that two persons had slept in it. Referring thus by name to her fellow-servant, who made the bed with her, but that servant (why I know not) is not examined.

As your majesty then finds the inference drawn by Bidgood to amount to a fact so openly and undisguisedly profligate, as to outrage all credibility; as your majesty finds it negatived by the evidence of three witnesses, one of whom, in particular, if such a fact were true, must have known it: as your majesty finds one witness appealing to another, who is pointed out as a person who must have been able, with equal means of knowledge, to have confirmed her if she spoke true, and to have contradicted her if she spoke false. And, sire, when added to all this, your majesty is graciously pleased to recollect, that Mr. Bidgood was one of those who, though in my service, submitted themselves voluntarily to be examined previous to the appointment of the commissioners, in confirmation of Lady Douglas's statement, without informing me of the fact; and when I state to your majesty, upon the evidence of Philip Krackeler and Robert Eaglestone, whose deposition I annex, that this unbiassed witness, during the pendency of these examinations before the commissioners, was seen to be in conference and communication with Lady Douglas, my most ostensible accuser, do I raise my expectations too high, when I confidently trust that his malice and his falsehood, as well as his conspiracy against my honour, my station in this kingdom, and my life, will

appear to your majesty too plainly for him to receive any credit, either in this or in any other part of his testimony?

The other circumstances to which he speaks are comparatively too trifling for me to trouble your majesty with any more observations upon his evidence.

The remaining part of the case, which respects Captain Manby, relates to my conduct at East Cliff.

How little Mrs. Lisle's examination affords for observations upon this part of the case, except as shewing how very seldom Captain Manby called upon me while I was there, I have already observed. Mr. Cole says nothing upon this part of the case; nor Mr. Bidgood. The only witness amongst the four whose testimonies are distinguished by the commissioners as most material, and as those on which they particularly rely, who says any thing upon this part of the case, is Fanny Lloyd. Her deposition is as follows*:

"I was at Ramsgate with the princess in 1803. One morning, when we were in the house at East Cliff, somebody (I don't recollect who) knocked at my door, and desired me to prepare breakfast for the princess. This was about six o'clock; I was asleep. During the whole time I was in the princess's service, I had never been called up before to make the princess's breakfast. I slept in the housekeeper's room on the ground-floor. I opened the shutters of the window for light. I knew at that time that Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. When I opened the shutters, I saw the princess walking down the gravel-walk towards the sea. No orders had been given me overnight to prepare breakfast early. The gentleman the princess was with was a tall man. I was surprised to see the princess walking with a gentleman at that time in the morning. I am sure it was the princess."

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* See p. 204.

What this evidence of Fanny Lloyd applies to I do not feel certain that I recollect. The circumstances which she mentions might, I think, have occurred twice while I was there; and which time she alludes to I cannot pretend to say. I mean on occasion of two water-parties, which I intended; one of which did not take place at all, and the other not so early in the day as was intended, nor was its object effected. Once I intended to pay Admiral Montague a visit at Deal. But, wind and tide not serving, we sailed much later than we intended; and, instead of landing at Deal, the admiral came on board our vessel, and we returned to East Cliff in the evening, on which occasion Captain Manby was not of the party, nor was he in the Downs; but it is very possible, that, having prepared to set off early, I might have walked down towards the sea, and been seen by Fanny Lloyd. On the other occasion, Captain Manby was to have been of the party, and it was to have been on board his ship. I desired him to be early at my house in the morning, and, if the day suited me, we would go. He came; I walked with him towards the sea to look at the morning; I did not like the appearance of the weather, and did not go to sea. Upon either of these occasions Fanny Lloyd might have been called up to make breakfast, and might have seen me walking. As to the orders not having been given her over-night, to that I can say nothing.

But upon this statement, what inference can be intended to be drawn from this fact? It is the only one in which F. Lloyd's evidence can in any degree be applied to Captain Manby, and she is one of the most important witnesses referred to, as proving something which must, particularly as with regard to Captain Manby, be credited till contradicted, and as deserving the most serious consideration. From the examination of Mrs. Fitzgerald I recollect that she was asked whether Captain Manby ever slept in the house at East Cliff to which she, to the best of her knowledge,

answers in the negative. Is this evidence, then, of Fanny Lloyd's relied upon to afford an inference that Captain Manby slept in my house? or was there at an improper hour? or in a manner, and under circumstances, which afforded reason for unfavourable interpretations? If this were so, can it be believed that I would, under such circumstances, have taken a step, such as calling for breakfast at an unusual hour, which must have made the fact more notorious and remarkable, and brought the attention of the servants, who must have waited at the breakfast, more particularly and pointedly to it?

But if there is any thing which rests, or is supposed to rest, upon the credit of this witness, though she is one of the four whose credit your majesty will recollect it has been stated that there was no reason to question, yet she stands in a predicament in which, in general, at least, I had understood it to be supposed, that the credit of a witness was not only questionable, but materially shaken. For, towards the beginning of her examination, she states*, that Mr. Mills attended her for a cold; he asked her if the prince came to Blackheath backwards and forwards, or something to that effect—for the princess was with child; or looked as if she was with child. This must have been three or four years ago. She thought it must have been some time before the child (W. Austin) was brought to the princess. To this fact she positively swears; and in this she is as positively contradicted by Mr. Mills; for he swears, in his deposition before the commissioners, that he never did say to her, or any one, that the princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child;—that he never thought so, nor surmised any thing of the kind. Mr. Mills has a partner, (Mr. Edmeads). The commissioners, therefore, conceiving that Fanny Lloyd

* See p. 203.

might have mistaken one of the partners for the other examined Mr. Edmeads also. Mr. Edmeads, in his deposition, is equally positive that he never said any such thing. So the matter rests upon these depositions; and upon that state of it what pretence is there for saying, that a witness who swears to a conversation with a medical person, who attended me, of so extremely important a nature; and is so expressly and decidedly contradicted in the important fact which she speaks to, is a witness whose credit there appears no reason to question? This important circumstance must surely have been overlooked when that statement was made.

But this fact of Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeads's contradiction of Fanny Lloyd appears to your majesty, for the first time, from the examination before the commissioners. But this is the fact which I charge as having been known to those who are concerned in bringing forward this information, and which, nevertheless, was not communicated to your majesty. The fact that Fanny Lloyd declared, that Mr. Mills told her the princess was with child, is stated in the declarations which were delivered to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and by him forwarded to your majesty. The fact that Mr. Mills denied ever having so said, though known at the same time, is not stated.

That I may not appear to have represented so strange a fact, without sufficient authority, I subjoin the declaration of Mr. Mills, and the deposition of Mr. Edmeads, which prove it. Fanny Lloyd's original declaration, which was delivered to his royal highness, is dated on the 12th of February. It appears to have been taken at the temple; I conclude therefore at the chambers of Mr. Lowten, Sir John Douglas's solicitor, who *, according to Mr. Cole, accompanied them to Cheltenham to procure some of these

* See p. 180.

declarations. On the 13th of February, the next day after Fanny Lloyd's declaration, the Earl of Moira sends for Mr. Mills upon pressing business. Mr. Mills attends him on the 14th; he is asked by his lordship upon the subject of this conversation; he is told he may rely upon his lordship's honour, that what passed should be in perfect confidence; (a confidence which Mr. Mills, feeling it to be on a subject too important to his character, at the moment disclaims;) that it was his (the Earl of Moira's) duty to his prince, as his counsellor, to enquire into the subject, which he had known for some time. Fanny Lloyd's statement being then related to Mr. Mills; Mr. Mills, with great warmth, declared that it was an infamous falsehood. Mr. Lowten, who appears also to have been there by appointment, was called into the room, and he furnished Mr. Mills with the date to which Fanny Lloyd's declaration applied. The meeting ends in Lord Moira's desiring to see Mr. Mills's partner, Mr. Edmeades, who, not being at home, cannot attend him for a few days. He does, however, upon his return, attend him on the 20th of May: on his attendance, instead of Mr. Lowten, he finds Mr. Conant, the magistrate, with Lord Moira. He denies the conversation with Fanny Lloyd, as positively and peremptorily as Mr. Mills. Notwithstanding however all this, the declaration of Fanny Lloyd is delivered to his royal highness, unaccompanied by these contradictions, and forwarded to your majesty on the 29th. That Mr. Lowten was the Solicitor of Sir John Douglas in this business, cannot be doubted; that he took some of those declarations, which were laid before your majesty, is clear; and that he took this declaration of Fanny Lloyd's, seems not to be questionable. That the inquiry by Earl Moira, two days after her declaration was taken, must have been in consequence of an early communication of it to him, seems necessarily to follow from what is above stated; that it was known, on the 14th of May, that

Mr. Mills contradicted this assertion; and, on the 20th, that Mr. Edmeades did, is perfectly clear; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the fact, that Mr. Edmeades and Mr. Mills contradicted it, seems to have been not communicated to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, for he, as it appears from the Report, forwarded the declarations which had been delivered to his royal highness, through the Chancellor, to your majesty; and the declaration of Fanny Lloyd, which had been so falsified, to the knowledge of the Earl Moira and of Mr. Lowten, the solicitor for Sir John Douglas, is sent in to your majesty as one of the documents, on which you were to ground your inquiry, unaccompanied by its falsification by Mills and Edmeades; at least, no declarations by them are amongst those which are transmitted to me, as copies of the original declarations which were laid before your majesty. I know not whether it was Lord Moira, or Mr. Lowten, who should have communicated this circumstance to his royal highness; but that, in all fairness, it ought unquestionably to have been communicated by some one.

I dare not trust myself with any inferences from this proceeding; I content myself with remarking, that it must now be felt, that I was justified in saying, that neither his royal highness, nor your majesty, any more than myself, had been fairly dealt with, in not being fully informed upon this important fact; and your majesty will forgive a weak, unprotected woman, like myself, who, under such circumstances, should apprehend that, however Sir John and Lady Douglas may appear my ostensible accusers, I have other enemies, whose ill-will I may have occasion to fear, without feeling myself assured, that it will be strictly regulated, in its proceeding against me, by the principles of fairness and of justice.

I have now, sire, gone through all the evidence which respects Captain Manby; whether at Montague-house,

Southend, or East Cliff, and I do trust, that your majesty will see, upon the whole of it, how mistaken a view the commissioners have taken of it. The pressure of other duties engrossing their time and their attention, has made them leave the important duties of this investigation, in many particulars, imperfectly discharged—a more thorough attention to it must have given them a better and truer insight into the characters of those witnesses, upon whose credit, as I am convinced, your majesty will now see, they have without sufficient reason relied. There remains nothing for me, on this part of the charge to perform; but, adverting to the circumstance which is falsely sworn against me by Mr. Bidgood, of the salute, and the false inference and insinuation, from other facts, that Captain Manby slept in my house, either at Southend, or East Cliff, on my own part most solemnly to declare, that they are both utterly false; that Bidgood's assertion as to the salute is a malicious slanderous invention, without the slightest shadow of truth to support it; that his suspicions and insinuations as to Captain Manby's having slept in my house, are also the false suggestions of his own malicious mind; and that Captain Manby never did, to my knowledge or belief, sleep in my house at Southend, East Cliff, or any other house of mine whatever; and, however often he may have been in my company, I solemnly protest to your majesty, as I have done in the former cases, that nothing ever passed between him and me that I should be ashamed, or unwilling, that all the world should have seen. And I have also, with great pain, and with a deep sense of wounded delicacy, applied to Captain Manby to attest to the same truths, and I subjoin to this letter his deposition to that effect.

I stated to your majesty, that I should be obliged to return to other parts of Fanny Lloyd's testimony. At the end of it, she says, *"I never told Cole that M. Wilson,

* See p. 204.

when she supposed the princess to be in the library, had gone into the princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the princess; or that there was a great to do about it, and that M. Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away, if she divulged what she had seen." This part of her examination your majesty will perceive, must have been called from her by some precise question, addressed to her, with respect to a supposed communication from her to Mr. Cole. In Mr. Cole's examination, there is not one word upon the subject of it. In his original declaration, however, there is; and there* your majesty will perceive, that he affirms the fact of her having reported to him Mary Wilson's declaration, in the very same words in which Fanny Lloyd denies it, and it is therefore evident that the commissioners, in putting this question to Fanny Lloyd, must have put it to her from Cole's declaration. She positively denies the fact; there is then a flat and precise contradiction, between the examination of Fanny Lloyd and the original statement of Mr. Cole. It is therefore impossible that they both can have spoken true. The commissioners, for some reason, don't examine Cole to this point at all; don't endeavour to trace out this story; if they had, they must have discovered which of these witnesses spoke the truth; but they leave this contradiction, not only unexplained, but uninquired after, and in that state report both these witnesses, *Cole* and *Fanny Lloyd*, who thus speak to the two sides of a contradiction, and who therefore cannot by possibility both speak truth, as witnesses who cannot be suspected of partiality, whose credit they see no reason to question, and whose story must be believed till contradicted.

But what is, if possible, still more extraordinary, this supposed communication from F. Lloyd to Cole, as you

* See p. 176

majesty observes, relates to something which M. Wilson is supposed to have seen and to have said; yet though M. Wilson appears herself to have been examined by the commissioners on the same day with Fanny Lloyd, in the copy of her examination, as delivered to me, there is no trace of any question relating to this declaration having been put to her.

And I have not less reason to lament, than to be surprised, that it did not occur to the commissioners to see the necessity of following this inquiry still further. For, if properly pursued, it would have demonstrated two things, both very important to be kept in mind in the whole of this consideration. First, how hearsay representations of this kind, arising out of little or nothing, become magnified and exaggerated by the circulation of prejudiced or malicious reporters; and, secondly, it would have shewn the industry of Mr. and Mrs. Bidgood, as well as Mr. Cole, in collecting information in support of Lady Douglas's statement, and in improving what they collected by their false colourings, and malicious additions to it. They would have found a story in Mrs. Bidgood's* declaration, as well as in her husband's,† (who relates it as having heard it from his wife,) which is evidently the same as that which W. Cole's declaration contains. For the Bidgoods' declarations state, that Fanny Lloyd told Mrs. Bidgood that Mary Wilson had gone into the princess's bed-room, and had found her royal highness and Sir Sidney in the most criminal situation; that she had left the room, and was so shocked, that she fainted away at the door. Here then are Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole both declaring what they had heard Fanny Lloyd say, and Fanny Lloyd denying it. How extraordinary is it that they were not all confronted! and your majesty will see presently how much it is to be lamented

* See p. 182 † P. 181.

that they were not. For, from Fanny Lloyd's original declaration, it appears that the truth would have come out. As she there states that,* "to the best of her knowledge, Mary Wilson said that she had seen the princess and Sir Sidney *in the blue-room*, but never heard Mary Wilson say she was so alarmed as to be in a fit." If then, on confronting Fanny Lloyd with Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, the commissioners had found Fanny Lloyd's story to be what she related before, and had then put the question to Mary Wilson, and had heard from her what it really was which she had seen and related to Fanny Lloyd, they could not have been at a loss to have discovered which of these witnesses told the truth. They would have found, I am perfectly confident, that all that Mary Wilson ever could have told Fanny Lloyd, was that she had seen Sir Sidney and myself in the blue-room, and they would then have had to refer to the malicious, and confederated inventions of the Bidgoods and Mr. Cole, for the conversion of the blue-room into the bed-room; for the vile slander of what M. Wilson was supposed to have seen, and for the violent effect which this scene had upon her. I say their *confederated inventions*, as it is impossible to suppose that they could have been concerned in inventing the same additions to Fanny Lloyd's story, unless they had communicated together upon it. And when they had once found Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, thus conspiring together, they would have had no difficulty in connecting them both in the same conspiracy with Sir John Douglas, by shewing how connected Cole was with Sir John Douglas, and how acquainted with his proceedings, in collecting the evidence which was to support Lady Douglas's declaration.

For, by referring to Mr. Cole's declaration, made on the 23d of February,† they would have seen that Mr. Cole,

* See p. 184 † p. 180.

in explaining some observation about Sir Sidney's supposed possession of a key to the garden door, says that it was what "Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, mentioned at Cheltenham to Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten."—How should Mr. Cole know that Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten had been down to Cheltenham, to collect evidence from this old servant of Sir John Douglas's? How should he have known what that evidence was, unless he had either accompanied them himself, or at least had had such a communication either with Sir John Douglas or Mr. Lowten, as it never could have occurred to any of them to have made to Mr. Cole, unless, instead of being a mere witness, he were a party to this accusation? But whether they had convinced themselves, that Fanny Lloyd spoke true, and Cole and Mrs. Bidgood falsely; or whether they had convinced themselves of the reverse, it could not have been possible that they both could have spoken the truth; and consequently the commissioners could never have reported the veracity of both to be free from suspicion, and deserving of credit.

There only remains that I should make a few observations on what appears in the examinations relative to Mr. Hood (now Lord Hood,) Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore. And I really should not have thought a single observation necessary upon either of them, except that what refers to them is stated in the examinations of Mrs. Lisle.

With respect to Lord Hood, it is as follows:

"I was at Catherington with the princess,—remember Mr. (now Lord Hood) there, and the princess going out airing with him, alone, in Mr. Hood's little whiskey;—and his servant was with them; Mr. Hood drove, and staid out two or three times;—more than once, three or four times. Mr. Hood dined with us several times;—once or twice he slept in a house in the garden; she appeared to pay no attention to him, but that of common civility to an intimate

acquaintance." Now, sire, it is undoubtedly true that I drove out several times with Lord Hood in his one-horse chaise, and some few times, twice I believe at most, without any of my servants attending us; and considering the time of life, and the respectable character of my Lord Hood, I never should have conceived that I incurred the least danger to my reputation in so doing. If indeed it was the duty of the commissioners to inquire into instances of my conduct, in which they may conceive it to have been less reserved and dignified, than what would properly become the exalted station which I hold in your majesty's royal family, it is possible that, in the opinions of some, these drives with my Lord Hood were not consistent with that station; and that they were particularly improper in those instances in which we were not attended by more servants, or any servants of my own. Upon this I have only to observe, that these instances occurred after I had received the news of the lamented death of your majesty's brother, the Duke of Gloucester. I was at that time down by the sea side for my health. I did not like to forego the advantage of air and exercise for the short remainder of the time which I had to stay there; and I purposely chose to go out, not in my own carriage, and unattended, that I might not be seen and known, to be driving about (myself and my attendants out of mourning) while his royal highness was known to have been so recently dead. This statement, however, is all that I have to make upon my part of the case, and whatever indecorum or impropriety of behaviour the commissioners have fixed upon me by this circumstance, it must remain; for I cannot deny the truth of the fact, and have only the above explanation to offer of it. As to what Mrs. Lisle's examination contains with respect to Mr. Chester and Captain Moore, it is so connected, that I must trouble your majesty with the statement of it altogether.

"I was with her royal highness at Lady Sheffield's, at Christmas, in Sussex; I inquired what company was there when I came,—she said, only Mr. John Chester, who was there by her royal highness's orders; that she could get no other company to meet her, on account of the roads and the season of the year. He dined and slept there that night; the next day other company came, Mr. Chester remained. I heard her royal highness say she had been ill in the night, and came out for a light, and lighted her candle in her servant's room. I returned from Sheffield-place to Blackheath with the princess; Captain Moore dined there; I left him and the princess twice alone, for a short time; he might be alone half an hour with her in the room below, in which we had been sitting. I went to look for a book to complete a set her royal highness was lending Captain Moor. She made him a present of an inkstand, to the best of my recollection. He was there one morning in January last, on the Princess Charlotte's birth-day; he went away before the rest of the company. I might be about twenty minutes the second time I was away, the night Captain Moore was there. At Lady Sheffield's, her royal highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company. I know of her royal highness walking out alone, twice, with Mr. Chester in the morning alone; once, a short time it rained, the other not an hour, not long. Mr. Chester is a pretty young man; her attentions to him were not uncommon; not the same as to Captain Manby."

And first, sire, as to what relates to Mr. Chester. If there is any imputation to be cast upon my character by what passed at Sheffield-place with Mr. Chester, (and by the commissioners returning to examine Mrs. Lisle upon my attention to Mr. Chester, my walking out with him, and above all, "as to his being a pretty young man," I conceive it to be so intended) I am sure your majesty will

see that it is the hardest thing imaginable upon me, that, upon an occurrence which passed in Lady Sheffield's house, on a visit to her, Lady Sheffield herself was never examined; for if she had been, I am convinced that these noble lords, the commissioners, never could have put me to the painful degradation of stating any thing upon this subject.

The statement begins by Mrs. Lisle's inquiring, what company was there? and Lady Sheffield saying, "only Mr. John Chester, who was there by her royal highness's orders; that she could get no other company on account of the roads." Is not this, sire, left open to inference that Mr. John Chester was the only person who had been invited by my orders? If Lady Sheffield had been examined, she would have been able to have produced the very letter in which, in answer to her ladyship's request, that I would let her know what company it would be agreeable for me to meet, I said, "every thing of the name of North, all the Legges, and Chesters, William and John, &c. &c, and Mr. Elliott." Instead of singling out, therefore, Mr. John Chester, I included him in the enumeration which I made of the near relations of Lady Sheffield; and your majesty from this alone cannot fail to see how false a colour even a true fact can assume, if it be not sufficiently inquired into and explained.

As to the circumstance of my having been taken ill in the night, being obliged to get up, and light my candle; why this fact should be recorded, I am wholly at a loss to conceive. All the circumstances however respecting it, connected very much as they are with the particular disposition of Lady Sheffield's house, would have been fully explained, if thought material to have been inquired after, by Lady Sheffield herself; and I should have been relieved from the painful degradation of alluding at all to a circumstance, which I could not further detail, without a degree

of indelicacy; and as I cannot possibly suppose such a detail can be necessary for my defence, it would, especially in addressing your majesty, be wholly inexcusable. With respect to the attention which I paid to Mr. Chester, and my walking out twice alone with him for a *short time*, I know not how to notice it. At this distance of time I am not certain that I can, with perfect accuracy, account for the circumstance. It appears to have been a rainy morning; it was on the 27th or 28th of December; and whether, wishing to take a walk, I did not desire Lady Sheffield, or Mrs. Lisle, or any lady, to accompany me in doing what, in such a morning, I might think might be disagreeable to them, I really cannot precisely state to your majesty.

But here again, perhaps, in the judgment of some persons, may be an instance of familiarity which was not consistent with the dignity of the princess of Wales, but surely prejudice against me and my character must exceed all natural bounds in those minds in which any inference of crime, or moral depravity, can be drawn from such a fact. As to Captain Moore, it seems he was left alone with me, and twice in one afternoon by Mrs. Lisle; he was alone with me half an hour. The first time Mrs. Lisle left us, (her examination says) it was to look for a book which I wished to lend to Captain Moore. How long she was absent on that occasion she is not asked; but it could have been but ten minutes, as she appears to have been absent twenty minutes the second time. The commissioners, though they particularly return to the inquiry, with respect to the length of time of her second absence, did not require her to tell them the occasion of it; if they had, she would have told them, that it was in search of the same book;—that having, on the first occasion, looked for it in the drawing-room, she went afterwards to see for it in Mrs. Fitzgerald's room. But I made him a present of an inkstand. I hope your majesty will not think I am trifling

with your patience when I take notice of such trifles. But it is of such trifles as these that the evidence consists, when it is the evidence of respectable witnesses speaking to facts, and consequently speaking only the truth. Captain Moore had conferred on me what I felt as a considerable obligation. My mother is very partial to the late Doctor Moore's writings. Captain Moore, as your majesty knows, is his son; and he promised to lend me, for the purpose of sending it to my mother, a manuscript of an unpublished work of the doctor's. In return for this civility I begged his acceptance of a trifling present.

There is one circumstance, alluded to in these examinations, which I know not how to notice, and yet feel it impossible to omit; I mean what respects certain anonymous papers, or letters, (marked A, B, and C,) to which Lord Cholmondeley appears to have been examined, upon the supposition of their being my hand-writing. A letter (marked A) appears, by the examination of Lady Douglas, to have been produced by her; and the two papers, marked B, and a cover marked C, appear to have been produced by Sir John. These papers I have never seen; but I collect them to be the same as are alluded to in Lady Douglas's original declaration, and, from her representation of them, they are most infamous productions. From the style and language of the letter, she says, Sir John Douglas, Sir Sidney Smith, and herself, would have no manner of hesitation in swearing point-blank (for that is her phrase) to their being in my hand-writing; and it seems, from the statement of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, that Sir Sidney Smith has been imposed upon to believe, that these letters and papers were really written and sent to Sir John and Lady Douglas by me. I cannot help, however, remarking to your majesty, that, though Sir John and Lady Douglas produce these papers, and mark them, yet neither the one nor the other swears to their belief of my

hand-writing; it does not, indeed, appear that they were asked the question; and when it once occurred to the commissioners to be material to inquire whose hand-writing these papers were, I should have been much surprised at their not applying to Sir John and Lady Douglas to swear it, as, in their original declaration, they offer to do, if it had not been that by that time, I suppose, the commissioners had satisfied themselves to the true value of Sir John and Lady Douglas's oaths, and, therefore, did not think it worth while to ask them any further questions.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, as appears by his narrative*, was convinced, by Sir Sidney Smith, that these letters came from me. His royal highness had been applied to by me, in consequence of my having received a formal note from Sir John, Lady Douglas, and Sir Sidney Smith, requesting an audience immediately, this was soon after my having desired to see no more of Lady Douglas. I conceived, therefore, the audience was required for the purpose of remonstrance, and explanation upon this circumstance; and, as I was determined not to alter my resolution, nor admit of any discussion upon it, I requested his royal highness, who happened to be acquainted with Sir Sidney Smith, to try to prevent my having any further trouble upon the subject. His royal highness saw Sir Sidney Smith, and being impressed by him with the belief of Lady Douglas's story, that I was the author of these anonymous letters, he did that which naturally became him under such belief; he endeavoured, for the peace of your majesty, and the honour of the royal family, to keep from the knowledge of the world, what, if it had been true, would have justly reflected such infinite disgrace upon me; and it seems, from the narrative that he procured, through Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John Douglas's assurance that he would,

* See p. 121.

under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested. "This result (his royal highness says) he communicated to me the following day, and I seemed satisfied with it." And, undoubtedly, as he only communicated the result to me, I could not be otherwise than satisfied; for as all that I wanted was, not to be obliged to see Sir John and Lady Douglas, and not to be troubled by them any more, the result of his royal highness's interference, through Sir Sidney Smith, was to procure me all that I wanted. I do not wonder that his royal highness did not mention to me the particulars of these infamous letters and drawings, which were ascribed to me; for, as long as he believed they were mine, undoubtedly it was a subject which he must have wished to avoid; but I lament, as it happens, that he did not, as I should have satisfied him, as far, at least, as any assertions of mine could have satisfied him, by declaring to him, as I do now most solemnly, that the letter is not mine, and that I know nothing whatever of the contents of it, or of the other papers; and I trust that his royal highness, and every one else who may have taken up any false impression concerning them to my prejudice, from the assertion of Sir John and Lady Douglas, will, upon my assertion, and the evidence of Lord Cholmondeley, remove from their minds this calumnious falsehood, which, with many others, the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas has endeavoured to fasten upon me.

To all these papers Lady Douglas states, in her declaration, that not only herself and Sir John Douglas, but Sir Sidney Smith, would have no hesitation in swearing to be in my hand-writing. What says Lord Cholmondeley?—"That he is perfectly acquainted with my manner of writing. Letter A is not of my hand-writing; that the two papers, marked B, appear to be wrote in a disguised hand; that some of the letters in them remarkably resemble

mine, but, because of the disguise, he cannot say whether they are or not; as to the cover marked C, he did not see the same resemblance." Of these four papers (all of which are stated by Lady Douglas to be so clearly and plainly mine, that there can be no hesitation upon the subject) two bear no resemblance to it; and, although the other two, written in a disguised hand, had some letters remarkably resembling mine, yet, I trust, I shall not, upon such evidence, be subjected to so base an imputation; and really, sire, I know not how to account for the commissioners examining and reporting upon this subject in this manner. For I understand from Mrs. Fitzgerald, that these drawings were produced by the commissioners to her, and that she was examined as to her knowledge of them, and as to the hand-writing upon them: that she was satisfied, and did not believe they could possibly come from any lady in my house. She was shown the seal also, which Lady Douglas, in her declaration, says, was the "identical one with which I had summoned Sir John Douglas to luncheon." To this seal, though it so much resembled one that belonged to herself, as to make her hesitate till she had particularly observed it; she was at last as positive as to the hand-writing; and having expressed herself with some feeling and indignation at the supposition, that either I, herself, or any of my ladies, could be guilty of so foul a transaction, the commissioners tell her they were satisfied, and believed her; and there is not one word of all this related in her examination. Now, if their lordships were satisfied from this, or any other circumstance, that these letters were not my writing, and did not come from me, I can account for their not preserving any trace of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence on this point, and leaving it out of their inquiry altogether; but, if they thought proper to preserve any evidence upon it, to make it the subject of any exami-

nation; surely, they should not have left it on Lord Cholmondeley's alone; but I ought to have had the benefit of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence also. But, as I said before, they take no notice of her evidence; nay, they finish their report, they execute it according to the date it bears, upon the 14th of July, and it is not until two days afterwards, (namely, on the 16th) that they examine Lord Cholmondeley to the hand-writing—with what view and for what purpose I cannot even surmise; but with whatever view, and for whatever purpose, if these letters are at all to be alluded to in their report, or the examinations accompanying it, surely I ought to have had the benefit of the other evidence, which disproved my connexion with them.

I have now, sire, gone through all the matters contained in the examination, on which I think it in any degree necessary to trouble your majesty with any observations. For as to the examination of Mrs. Townley, the washerwoman, if it applies at all, it must have been intended to have afforded evidence of my pregnancy and miscarriage. And whether the circumstance she speaks to was occasioned by my having been bled with leeches, or whether an actual miscarriage did take place in my family, and by some means linen belonging to me was procured and used upon the occasion; or to whatever other circumstance it is to be ascribed, after the manner in which the commissioners have expressed their opinion, on the part of the case respecting my supposed pregnancy, and after the evidence on which they formed their opinion, I do not conceive myself called upon to say any thing upon it; or that any thing I could say could be more satisfactory than repeating the opinion of the commissioners, as stated in their report, viz. "that nothing had appeared to them which would warrant the belief that I was pregnant in that year, (1802,) or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries—that they would not be warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged

pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations, a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit."

There are indeed some other matters mentioned in the original declarations, which I might have found it necessary to observe upon; but as the commissioners do not appear to have entered into any examination with respect to them, I content myself with thinking that they had found the means of satisfying themselves of the utter falsehood of those particulars, and therefore that they can require no contradiction or observation from me.

On the declarations, therefore, and the evidence, I have nothing further to remark. And, conscious of the length at which I have trespassed on your majesty's patience, I will forbear to waste your time by any endeavour to recapitulate what I have said. Some few observations, however, before I conclude, I must hope to be permitted to subjoin.

In many of the observations which I have made, your majesty will observe that I have noticed what have appeared to me to be great omissions on the part of the commissioners, in the manner of taking their examinations; in forbearing to put any questions to the witnesses, in the nature of a cross-examination of them;—to confront them with each other; and to call other witnesses, whose testimony must either have confirmed or falsified, in important particulars, the examinations as they have taken them. It may perhaps occur, in consequence of such observations, that I am desirous that this inquiry should be opened again; that the commissioners should recommence their labours, and that they should proceed to supply the defects in their previous examinations, by a fuller execution of their duty.—I therefore think it necessary most distinctly and emphatically to state, that I have no such meaning; and whatever may

be the risk that I may incur of being charged with betraying a consciousness of guilt, by thus flying from an extension or repetition of this inquiry, I must distinctly state, that so far from requesting the revival of it, I humbly request your majesty would be graciously pleased to understand me as remonstrating, and protesting against it, in the strongest and most solemn manner in my power.

I am yet to learn the legality of such a commission to inquire, even in the case of high treason, or any other crime known to the laws of this country. If it is lawful in the case of high treason, supposed to be committed by me, surely it must be lawful also in the case of high treason, supposed to be committed by other subjects of your majesty.

That there is much objection to it, in reason and principle, my understanding assures me. That such inquiries, carried on upon *ex parte* examination, and a report of the result by persons of high authority, may, nay must, have a tendency to prejudice the character of the parties who are exposed to them, and thereby influence the further proceedings in their case;—that are calculated to keep back from notice, and in security, the person of a false accuser, and to leave the accused in the predicament of neither being able to look forward for protection to an acquittal of himself, nor for redress to the conviction of his accuser.—That these and many other objections occur to such a mode of proceeding, in the case of a crime known to the laws of this country, appears to be quite obvious.—But if commissioners acting under such a power, or your majesty's privy-council, or any regular magistrates, when they have satisfied themselves of the falsehood of the principal charge, and the absence of all legal and substantive offence, are to be considered as empowered to proceed in the examination of the particulars of private life; to report upon the proprieties of domestic conduct, and the decorums of private behaviour;

and to pronounce their opinion against the party, upon the evidence of dissatisfied servants, whose veracity they are to hold up as unimpeachable, and to do this without permitting the persons whose conduct is inquierd into, to suggest one word in explanation or contradiction of the matter with which they are charged; it would, I submit to your majesty, prove such an attack upon the security and confidence of domestic life, such a means of recording, under the sanction of great names and high authority, the most malicious and foulest imputations, that no character could possibly be secure; and would do more to break in upon and undermine the happiness and comfort of life, than any proceeding which could be imagined.

The public in general perhaps may feel not much interest in the establishment of such a precedent in my case. They may think it to be a course of proceeding scarcely applicable to any private subject; yet, if once such a court of honour, of decency, and of manners, was established, many subjects might occur to which it might be thought advisable to extend its jurisdiction, beyond the instance of a Princess of Wales. But should it be intended to be confined to me, your majesty, I trust, will not be surprised to find that it does not reconcile me the better to it, should I learn myself to be the single instance in your kingdom, who is exposed to the scrutiny of so severe and formidable a tribunal. So far therefore from giving that sanction or consent to any fresh inquiry, upon similar principles, which I should seem to do, by requiring the renewal of these examinations, I must protest against it; protest against the nature of the proceeding, because its result cannot be fair. I must protest, as long at least as it remains doubtful, against the legality of what has already passed, as well as against the legality of its repetition.—If the course be legal, I must submit to the laws, however severe they may be. But I trust new law is not to be found out, and applied to my case.—If I am guilty

of crime, I know I am amenable, I am most contented to continue so, to the impartial laws of your majesty's kingdom; and I fear no charge brought against me, in open day, under the public eye, before the known tribunals of the country, administering justice under those impartial and enlightened laws. But secret tribunals, created for the first time for me, to form and pronounce opinions upon my conduct, without hearing me; to record, in the evidence of the witnesses which they report, imputations against my character upon *ex parte* examinations,—till I am better reconciled to the justice of their proceedings, I cannot fail to fear And till I am better informed as to their legality, I cannot fail in duty to my dearest interests most solemnly to remonstrate and to protest against them.

If such tribunals as these are called into action against me, by the false charges of friends turned enemies, of servants turned traitors, and acting as spies; by the foul conspiracy of such social and domestic treason, I can look to no security to my honour in the most spotless and most cautious innocence.

By the contradiction and denial which in this case I have been enabled to procure, of the most important facts which have been sworn against me by Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood;—by the observations and the reasonings, which I have addressed to your majesty, I am confident that to those whose sense of justice will lead them to wade through this long detail, I shall have removed the impressions which have been raised against me.—But how am I to insure a patient attention to all this statement? How many will hear that the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the First Lord of the Treasury, and one of your majesty's principal Secretaries of State, have reported against me, upon evidence which they have declared to be unbiassed and unquestionable; who will never have the opportunity, or if they had the opportunity might

not have the inclination, to correct the error of that report, by the examination of my statement.

I feel, therefore, that by this proceeding, my character has received essential injury. For a Princess of Wales to have been placed in a situation, in which it was essential to her honour to request one gentleman to swear, that he was not locked up at midnight in a room with her alone; and another, that he did not give her a lascivious salute, and never slept in her house, is to have been actually degraded and disgraced.—I have been, sire, placed in this situation; I have been cruelly, your majesty will permit me to say so, cruelly degraded into the necessity of making such requests. A necessity which I never could have been exposed to, even under this inquiry, if more attention had been given to the examination of these malicious charges, and of the evidence on which they rest.

Much solicitude is felt, and justly so, as connected with this inquiry, for the honour of your majesty's illustrious family. But surely a true regard to that honour should have restrained those who really felt for it, from casting such severe reflections on the character and virtue of the Princess of Wales.

If, indeed, after the most diligent and anxious inquiry, penetrating into every circumstance connected with the charge, searching every source from which information could be derived, and scrutinizing with all that acuteness, into the credit and character of the witnesses, which great experience, talent, and intelligence, could bring to such a subject; and, above all, if after giving me some opportunity of being heard, the force of truth had, at length, compelled any persons to form, as reluctantly and as unwillingly as they would, against their own daughters, the opinion that has been pronounced; no regard, unquestionably, to my honour and character, nor to that of your majesty's family, as, in some degree, involved in mine, could have justified

the suppression of that opinion, if legally called for, in the course of official and public duty. Whether such caution and reluctance are really manifest in these proceedings, I must leave to less partial judgments than my own to determine.

In the full examination of these proceedings, which justice to my own character has required of me, I have been compelled to make many observations, which, I fear, may prove offensive to persons in high power—your majesty will easily believe when I solemnly assure you, that I have been deeply sorry to yield to the necessity of so doing. This proceeding manifests that I have enemies enough; I could not wish unnecessarily to increase their number, or their weight. I trust, however, I have done it. I know it has been my purpose to do it in a manner as little offensive as the justice due to myself would allow of; but I have felt that I have been deeply injured; that I have had much to complain of; and that my silence now would not be taken for forbearance, but would be ascribed to me as a confession of guilt. The report itself announced to me, that these things, which had been spoken to by the witnesses, "great improprieties and indecencies of conduct," "necessarily occasioning most unfavourable interpretations, and deserving the most serious consideration," "must be credited till decidedly contradicted." The most satisfactory disproof of these circumstances (as the contradiction of the accused is always received with caution and distrust) rested in the proof of the foul malice and falsehood of my accusers and their witnesses. The report announced to your majesty that those witnesses, whom I felt to be foul confederates in a base conspiracy against me, were not to be suspected of unfavourable bias, and their veracity, in the judgment of the commissioners, not to be questioned.

Under these circumstances, sire, what could I do? Could I forbear, in justice to myself, to announce to your

majesty the existence of a conspiracy against my honour, and my station in this country at least, if not against my life? Could I forbear to point out to your majesty, how long this intended mischief had been meditated against me? Could I forbear to point out my doubts, at least, of the legality of the commission, under which the proceeding had been had? or to point out the errors and inaccuracies, into which the great and able men, who were named in this commission, under the hurry and pressure of their great official occupations, had fallen, in the execution of this duty? Could I forbear to state, and to urge, the great injustice and injury that had been done to my character and my honour, by opinions pronounced against me without hearing me? And if, in the execution of this great task, so essential to my honour, I have let drop any expressions which a colder and more cautious prudence would have checked, I appeal to your majesty's warm heart and generous feelings to suggest my excuse, and to afford my pardon.

What I have said, I have said under the pressure of much misfortune, under the provocation of great and accumulated injustice. Oh! sire, to be unfortunate, and scarce to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent, is a hard lot; but use had in some degree inured me to it: but to find my misfortunes and my injuries imputed to me as faults; to be called to account upon a charge, made against me by Lady Douglas, who was thought at first worthy of credit, although she had pledged her veracity to the fact, of my having admitted that I was myself the aggressor in every thing of which I had to complain, has subdued all power of patient bearing; and when I was called upon by the commissioners either to admit, by my silence, the guilt which they imputed to me, or to enter into my defence, in contradiction to it—no longer at liberty to remain silent, I perhaps have not known how, with exact propriety, to limit my expressions

In happier days of my life, before my spirit had been yet at all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt which, I trust, by this time, your majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to have defied my enemies to the utmost, and to have scorned to answer to any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal; but, in my present misfortunes, such force of mind is gone. I ought perhaps so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have therefore entered into this long detail to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness hitherto I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal.

Under the impression of these sentiments, I throw myself at your majesty's feet. I know that whatever sentiments of resentment, whatever wish for redress, by the punishment of my false accusers, I ought to feel, your majesty, as the father of a stranger, smarting under false accusation, as the head of your illustrious house, dishonoured in me, and as the great guardian of the laws of your kingdom, thus foully attempted to have been applied to the purposes of injustice, will not fail to feel for me. At all events, I trust your majesty will restore to me the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence.

I am, sire,

With every sentiment of gratitude and loyalty,

Your majesty's most affectionate and dutiful

daughter-in-law, subject, and servant,

C. P.

Montague-house, 2d October, 1806.

The following are the depositions which accompanied this Letter; and considered, as they must be, as coming from persons of character and respectability, they expose in a glaring light the infamous falsehood and perjury of the deponents who were brought forward to prove the criminality of her royal highness:—

The Deposition of THOMAS MANBY, *Esquire, a Captain in the Royal Navy.*

Having had read to me the following passage, from the copy of a deposition of Robert Bidgood, sworn the 6th of June last, before Lords Spencer and Grenville, *viz.*

"I was waiting one day in the anti-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away; he was a long time with the princess, and, as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and, in the reflection on the looking-glass, I saw them salute each other—I mean, that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room."

I do solemnly, and upon my oath, declare, that the said passage is a vile and wicked invention; that it is wholly and absolutely false; that it is impossible he ever could have seen, in the reflection of any glass, any such thing; as I never, upon any occasion, or in any situation, ever had the presumption to salute her royal highness in any such manner, or to take any such liberty, or offer any such insult to her person. And having had read to me another passage, from the same copy of the same deposition, in which the said Robert Bidgood says—

"I suspected that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house; it was a subject of conversation in the house. Hints were given by the servants; and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself."

I solemnly swear, that such suspicion is wholly unfounded, and that I never did, at Montague-house, Southend, Ramsgate East Cliff, or any where else, ever sleep in any house occupied by, or belonging to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and that there never did any thing pass between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and myself, that I should be in any degree unwilling that all the world should have seen.

THO. MANBY.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton-garden, London, the 22d day of September, 1806, before me,

THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of THOMAS LAWRENCE, *of Greek-street, Soho, in the county of Middlesex, portrait painter.*

Having had read to me the following extract from a copy of a deposition of William Cole, purporting to have been sworn before Lords Spencer and Grenville, the 10th day of June, 1806, *viz.*

"Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague-house about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting the princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the princess at eleven or twelve o'clock at night; he has been there as late as one or two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw him with the princess in the blue-room after the ladies had retired; some time afterwards, when I supposed he was

gone to his bed-room, I went to see that all was safe, and found the blue-room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and then went away."

I do solemnly, and upon my oath, depose, that having received the commands of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to paint her royal highness's portrait, and that of the Princess Charlotte, I attended for that purpose at Montague-house, Blackheath, several times about the beginning of the year 1801; and having been informed that Sir William Beechey, upon a similar occasion, had slept in the house, for the greater convenience of executing his painting, and it having been intimated to me, that I might probably be allowed the same advantage, I signified my wish to avail myself of it; and accordingly I did sleep at Montague-house several nights;—that frequently, when employed upon this painting, and occasionally, between the close of a day's sitting and the time of her royal highness dressing for dinner, I have been alone in her royal highness's presence; I have likewise been graciously admitted to her royal highness's presence in the evenings, and remained there till twelve, one, and two o'clock; but I do solemnly swear, I was never alone in the presence of her royal highness in an evening, to the best of my recollection and belief, except in one single instance, and that for a short time, when I remained with her royal highness in the blue-room, or drawing-room, as I remember, to answer some question which had been put to me, at the moment I was about to retire together with the ladies-in-waiting, who had been previously present as well as myself; and, though I cannot recollect the particulars of the conversation which then took place, I do solemnly swear, that nothing passed between her royal highness and myself, which I could have had the least objection for all the world to have seen and heard. And I do further, upon my oath, solemnly declare,

that I never was alone in the presence of her royal highness in any other place, or in any other way, than as above described; and that neither upon the occasion last mentioned, nor upon any other, was I ever in the presence of her royal highness, in any room whatever, with the door locked, bolted, or fastened, otherwise than in the common and usual manner, which leaves it in the power of any person on the outside of the door to open it.

THOMAS LAWRENCE.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton-garden, this 24th day of September, 1806, before me,

THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of THOMAS EDMEADES, *of Greenwich, in the county of Kent, surgeon.*

On Tuesday, May 20, 1806, I waited upon Earl Moira, by his appointment, who, having introduced me to Mr. Conant, a magistrate for Westminster, proceeded to mention a charge preferred against me, by one of the female servants of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of my having said, that her royal highness had been pregnant. His lordship then asked me, if I had not bled her royal highness; and whether, at that time, I did not mention to a servant, that I thought her royal highness in the family way; and whether I did not also ask, at the same time, if the prince had been down to Montague-house. I answered, that it had never entered my mind that her royal highness was in such a situation, and that therefore certainly I never made the remark to any one; nor had I asked whether his royal highness had visited the house:—I said, that at that time a report, of the nature alluded to, was prevalent; but that I treated it as the infamous lie of the day.

His lordship adverted to the circumstances of her royal highness's having taken a child into her house; and observed, how dreadful mistakes about succession to the throne were, and what confusion might be caused by any claim of this child: I observed that I was aware of it; but repeated the assertion, that I had never *thought* of such a thing as was suggested, and therefore considered it impossible, in a manner, that I could have given it utterance. I observed, that I believed, in the first instance, Mr. Stikeman, the page, had mentioned this child to her royal highness, and that it came from Deptford, where I went, when her royal highness first took it, to see if any illness prevailed in the family. Mr. Conant observed, that he believed it was not an unusual thing for a medical man, when he imagined that a lady was pregnant, to mention his suspicion to some confidential domestic in the family:—I admitted the *bare* possibility, *if* such had been my opinion; but remarked, that the *if* must have been removed, before I could have committed myself in so absurd a manner.

Lord Moira, in a very significant manner, with his hands behind him, his head over one shoulder, his eyes directed towards me, with a sort of smile, observed, "that he could not help thinking that there must be *something* in the servant's deposition;" as if he did not give perfect credit to what I had said. He observed, that the matter was then confined to the knowledge of a few: and that he had hoped, if there had been any foundation for the affidavit, I might have acknowledged it, that the affair might have been hushed. With respect to the minor question, I observed, that it was not probable that I should condescend to ask any such question as that imputed to me, of a menial servant; and that I was not in the habits of conferring confidentially with servants. Mr. Conant cautioned me to be on my guard; as, that if it appeared, on further investigation, I had made such inquiry, it might be very unpleasant

to me, should it come under the consideration of the privy council. I said that I considered the report as a malicious one; and was ready to make oath, before any magistrate, that I had not, at any time, asserted, or even thought, that her royal highness had ever been in a state of pregnancy since I had had the honour of attending the household. Mr. Conant asked me whether, *whilst* I was bleeding her royal highness, or *after* I had performed the operation, I did not make some comment on the situation of her royal highness, from the state of the blood; and whether I recommended the operation: I answered in the negative to both questions. I said that her royal highness had sent for me to bleed her, and that I did not then recollect on what account. I said that I had bled her royal highness twice; but did not remember the dates. I asked Lord Moira whether he intended to proceed in the business, or whether I might consider it as at rest, that I might have an opportunity, if I thought necessary, of consulting my friends relative to the mode of conduct I ought to adopt: he said that if the subject was moved any further, I should be apprized of it; and that at present it was in the hands of a few. I left them, and, in about an hour, on further consideration, wrote the note, of which the following is a copy, to which I never received any reply:—

"Mr. Edmeades presents his respectful compliments to Lord Moira, and, on mature deliberation, after leaving his lordship, upon the conversation which passed at Lord Moira's this morning, he feels it necessary to advise with some friend, on the propriety of making the particulars of that conversation known to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; as Mr. Edmeades would be very sorry that her royal highness should consider him capable of such infamous conduct as that imputed to him on the deposition of a servant, by Lord Moira, this morning."

"*London, May* 20, 1806."

I have been enabled to state the substance of my interview with Lord Moira and Mr. Conant with the more particularity, as I made memorandums of it within a day or two afterwards. And I do further depose, that the papers hereunto annexed, marked A. and B. are in the hand-writing of Samuel Gillam Mills, of Greenwich aforesaid, my partner; and that he is at present, as I verily believe, upon his road from Wales, through Gloucester, to Bath.

THOS. EDMEADES.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton-garden, this 26th day of September, 1806.

THOMAS LEACH.

(A.)

Memorandums of the heads of Conversation between LORD MOIRA, MR. LOWTEN, *and myself.*

May 14, 1806.

May 13, 1806, I received a letter from Lord Moira, of which the following is an exact copy:—

St. James's-place, May 13, 1806.

Sir,

A particular circumstance makes me desire to have the pleasure of seeing you, and indeed renders it indispensable that you should take the trouble of calling on me. As the trial in Westminster-hall occupies the latter hours of the day, I must beg you to be with me as early at nine o'clock, to-morrow morning; in the mean time, it will be better that you should not apprize any one of my having requested you to converse with me.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Your obedient servant,

To Mr. Mills. MOIRA.

This is the paper A. referred to by the affidavit of Thomas Edmeades, sworn before me this 26th September, 1806.

THOMAS LEACH.

(B.)

In consequence of the above letter, I waited on his lordship exactly at nine o'clock. In less than five minutes, I was admitted into his room, and by him received very politely. He began his conversation by stating, he wished to converse with me on a very delicate subject; that I might rely on his honour, that what passed was to be in perfect confidence; it was his duty to his prince, as his counsellor, to inquire into the subject, which he had known for some time; and the inquiry was due also to my character. He then stated, that a deposition had been made by a domestic of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, deposing, as a declaration made by me, that her royal highness was pregnant, and that I made inquiries when interviews might have taken place with the prince. I answered, that I never had declared the princess to be with child, nor ever made the inquiries stated; that the declaration was an infamous falsehood.—This being expressed with some warmth, his lordship observed, that I might have made the inquiries very innocently, conceiving that her royal highness could not be in that situation but by the prince. I repeated my assertion of the falsehood of the declaration, adding, that though the conversation was intended to be confidential, I felt my character strongly attacked by the declaration, therefore it was necessary that the declaration should be investigated; I had no doubt but the character I had so many years maintained would make my assertion believed before the deposition of a domestic. I then requested to know what date the declaration bore? His lordship said he did not remember; but he had desired the solicitor to meet me, who would shew it me. I then observed that I should in confidence communicate to his lordship why I was desirous to know the date; I then stated to his lordship, that soon after her royal highness came to Blackheath, I attended her

in an illness, with Sir Francis Millman, in which I bled her twice.—Soon after her recovery, she thought proper to form a regular medical appointment, and appointed myself and Mr. Edmeades to be surgeons and apothecaries to her royal highness; on receiving a warrant for such appointment, I declined accepting the honour of being appointed apothecary, being inconsistent with my character, being educated as surgeon, and having had an honorary degree of physic conferred on me; her royal highness condescended to appoint me her surgeon only. His lordship rang to know if Mr. Lowten was come; he was in the next room. His lordship left me for a few minutes, returned, and introduced me to Mr. Lowten with much politeness—as Dr. Mills; repeating the assurance of what passed being confidential. I asked Mr. Lowten the date of the declaration that had been asserted to be made by me? He said, in the year 1802. I then, with permission of his lordship, gave the history of my appointment, adding, since then I had never seen the princess as a patient. Once she sent for me to bleed her; I was from home; Mr. Edmeades went; nor had I visited any one in the house, except one Mary, and that was in a very bad case of surgery; I was not sure whether it was before or after my appointment. Mr. Lowten asked me the date of it; I told him I did not recollect. He observed, from the warmth of my expressing my contradiction to the deposition, that I saw it in a wrong light; that I might suppose, and very innocently, her royal highness to be pregnant, and then the inquiries were as innocently made. I answered, that the idea of pregnancy never entered my head; that I never attended her royal highness in any sexual complaint; whether she ever had any I never knew. Mr. Lowten said, I might think so, from her increase of size; I answered no, I never did think her pregnant, therefore could never say it, and that the deposition was an infamous falsehood. His lordship then observed

that he perceived there must be a mistake, and that Mr. Edmeades was the person meant, whom he wished to see; I said he was then at Oxford, and did not return before Saturday; his lordship asked if he came through London; I said I could not tell.

Finding nothing now arising from conversation, I asked to retire; his lordship attended me out of the room with great politeness.

When I came home, I sent his lordship a letter, with the date of my warrant, April 10, 1801; he answered my letter, with thanks for my immediate attention, and wished to see Mr. Edmeades on Sunday morning. This letter came on the Saturday; early on the Sunday I sent Timothy to let his lordship know Mr. Edmeades would not return till Monday; on Tuesday I promised he should attend, which he did.

The preceding memorandum is an exact copy of what I made the day after I had seen Lord Moira.

SAM. GILLAM MILLS.

Croome-hill, Greenwich, Aug. 20, 1806.

This is the paper marked B. referred to by the affidavit of Thomas Edmeades, sworn before me this 26th September, 1806.

THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of JONATHAN PARTRIDGE, *porter to Lord Eardley, at Belvidere.*

I remember being informed by Mr. Kenny, Lord Eardley's late steward, now dead, that I was wanted by Lord Moira, in town; accordingly I went with Mr. Kenny to Lord Moira's, in St. James's-place, on the king's birth-day of 1804. His lordship asked me if I remembered the

princess coming to Belvidere some time before? I said yes, and told him that there were two or three ladies, I think three, with her royal highness, and a gentleman with them, who came on horseback; that they looked at the pictures in the house, had their luncheon there, and that her royal highness's servants waited upon them, as I was in dishabille. His lordship asked me whether they went up stairs? and I told him that they did not. He asked me how long they staid? and I said, as far as I recollected, they did not stay above an hour, or an hour and a quarter; that they waited some little time for the carriage, which had gone to the public-house; and, till it came, they walked up and down altogether in the portico before the house. His lordship, in the course of what he said to me, said it was a subject of importance, and might be of consequence. His lordship, finding that I had nothing more to say, told me I might go.

Some time afterwards, his lordship sent for me again, and asked me if I was sure of what I said being all that I could say respecting the princess? I said it was; and that I was ready to take my oath of it, if his lordship thought proper. He said it was very satisfactory; said I might go, and he should not want me any more.

JONATHAN PARTRIDGE.

Sworn at the County-court of Middlesex, in Fullwood's-Rents, the 25th day of September, 1806, before me,

THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of PHILIP KRACKELER, *one of the footmen of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and* ROBERT EAGLESTONE, *park-keeper to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.*

These deponents say, that on or about the 28th day of June last, as they were walking together across Greenwich-

park, they saw Robert Bidgood, one of the pages of her royal highness, walking in a direction as if he were going from the town of Greenwich towards the house of Sir John Douglas, and which is a different road from that which leads to Montague-house, and they at the same time perceived Lady Douglas walking in a direction to meet him. And this deponent, Philip Krackeler, then desired the other deponent to take notice whether Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood would speak to each other; and both of these deponents observed, that, when Lady Douglas and Bidgood met, they stopped and conversed together for the space of about two or three minutes, whilst in view of these deponents; but how much longer their conversation lasted these deponents cannot say, as they (these deponents) proceeded on the road, which took them out of sight of Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood.

PHILIP KRACKLER.
ROBERT EAGLESTONE.

Sworn at the Public-office, Hatton-garden, this 27th day of September, 1806, before me,

THOMAS LEACH.

The princess having now performed that part which she deemed incumbent upon her, and, as far as her means allowed her, having vindicated her character from the foul aspersions which were cast upon her, waited with intense anxiety for the result of her letter to the king. In the mean time, she was by no means ignorant, that every engine was set to work which the most deliberate enmity or malice could devise to injure her in that very quarter from which she had every

reason to look for the most friendly and affectionate support. She was well aware of the danger of her situation; for, after the specimen which she had lately received of the manner in which the "most honourable and disinterested persons" had come forward to depose to facts against her, which had no foundation whatever in truth, but which might be termed a satanic mixture of falsehood, concocted in the caldron of malice, she knew not from what dark recess the venomed shaft might be aimed at her, and the insidious poison might be working in secret, without the means being allowed her of offering an antidote. She knew the proneness of the human heart, even the most humane and charitable one, to listen to reports injurious to the character of those who move in an elevated sphere of life; and she also knew the wayward disposition of mankind to magnify a trifling fault into a venial crime, and to attach a motive of guilt to an action, which, were it analyzed in the alembic of liberality or charity, would be found not to be tinctured with a particle of criminality.

The painful situation of the Princess of Wales can only be properly felt by those, who, with the proud consciousness of innocence dwelling in their bosoms, are yet made the mark for scorn and malice to point their fingers at. But Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb; and Heaven gave to this princess a mind of a masculine cast, which, like the rock in the midst of the ocean,

stands firm on its base, and frowns defiance on the waves, which spend their impotent rage against it.

Nine weeks had now elapsed, and yet no reply was sent to the foregoing vindicatory letter, which the princess had written to his majesty, and worn out with suspense and anxiety, and aware of the steps which her enemies might be taking in secret against her, she addressed the following letter to the king:—

SIRE,

I trust your majesty, who knows my constant affection, loyalty, and duty, and the sure confidence with which I readily repose my honour, my character, and my happiness, in your majesty's hands, will not think me guilty of any disrespect or undutcous impatience, when I thus again address myself to your royal grace and justice.

It is, sire, nine weeks to-day since my counsel presented to the Lord High Chancellor my letter to your majesty, containing my observations, in vindication of my honour and innocence, upon the report presented to your majesty by the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine into my conduct. The Lord Chancellor informed my counsel, that the letter should be conveyed to your majesty on that very day; and further was pleased, in about a week or ten days afterwards, to communicate to my solicitor, that your majesty had read my letter, and that it had been transmitted to his lordship, with directions that it should be copied for the commissioners, and that, when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to your majesty.

Your majesty's own gracious and royal mind will easily conceive what must have been my state of anxiety and sus-

pense, whilst I have been fondly indulging in the hope, that every day, as it passed, would bring me the happy tidings, that your majesty was satisfied of my innocence, and convinced of the unfounded malice of my enemies, in every part of their charge. Nine long weeks of daily expectation and suspense have now elapsed, and they have brought me nothing but disappointment. I have remained in total ignorance of what has been done, what is doing, or what is intended upon this subject. Your majesty's goodness will, therefore, pardon me, if, in the step which I now take, I act upon a mistaken conjecture with respect to the fact. But from the Lord Chancellor's communication to my solicitor, and from the time which has elapsed, I am led to conclude, that your majesty had directed the copy of my letter to be laid before the commissioners, requiring their advice upon the subject; and, possibly, their official occupations, and their other duties to the state, may not have as yet allowed them the opportunity of attending to it. But your majesty will permit me to observe, that however excusable this delay may be on their parts, yet it operates most injuriously upon me; my feelings are severely tortured by the suspense, while my character is sinking in the opinion of the public.

It is known, that a report, though acquitting me of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to my honour, has been made to your majesty; that that report has been communicated to me; that I have endeavoured to answer it; and that I still remain, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of my answer, unacquainted with the judgment which is formed upon it. May I be permitted to observe upon the extreme prejudice which this delay, however to be accounted for by the numerous important occupations of the commissioners, produces to my honour? The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, begin to infer my guilt from it. I feel myself already

sinking in the estimation of your majesty's subjects, as well as of what remains to me of my own family, into (a state intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence) a state in which my honour appears at least equivocal, and my virtue is suspected. From this state I humbly entreat your majesty to perceive, that I can have no hope of being restored, until either your majesty's favourable opinion shall be graciously notified to the world, by receiving me again into the royal presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts shall expose the malice of my accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.

The various calamities with which it has pleased God of late to afflict me, I have endeavoured to bear, and trust I have borne, with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of this infamous charge, and the delay which has suspended its final termination, by depriving me of the consolation which I should have received from your majesty's presence and kindness, have given a heavy addition to them all; and surely, my bitterest enemies could hardly wish that they should be increased. But on this topic, as possibly not much affecting the justice, though it does the hardship of my case, I forbear to dwell.

You majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that an occasion of assembling the royal family and your subjects, in dutiful and happy commemoration of her majesty's birth-day, is now near at hand. If the increased occupations which the approach of parliament may occasion, or any other cause should prevent the commissioners from enabling your majesty to communicate your pleasure to me before that time, the world will infallibly conclude (in their present state of ignorance), that my answer must have proved unsatisfactory, and that the infamous charges have been thought but too true.

These considerations, Sire, will, I trust, in your majesty's

gracious opinion, rescue this address from all imputation of impatience. For, your majesty's sense of honourable feeling will naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it is that I, conscious of my own innocence, and believing that the malice of my enemies has been completely detected, can, without abandoning all regard to my interests, my happiness, and my honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to my character, and yet wait, with patience and in silence, till it overwhelms me. I therefore take this liberty of throwing myself again at your majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the commissioners to an early communication of their advice.

To save your majesty and the commissioners all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, I have directed a duplicate of this letter to be prepared, and have sent one copy of it through the Lord Chancellor, and another through Colonel Taylor, to your majesty.

I am, Sire, with every sentiment of gratitude and loyalty, your majesty's most affectionate and dutiful daughter-in-law, servant, and subject,

C. P.

Montague-house, Dec. 8th, 1806.

It was said by Mr. Canning, during the investigation of the charges which were brought against the Duke of York, that in every accusation some infamy must attach to the accuser or the accused. The accuser must either substantiate his charges, on the most irrefragable

proof, or, in default of it, he stands open to the suspicion of being actuated by motives of revenge and malice. In this memorable case it requires not a profundity of penetration to fathom the motives which led to the accusation of her royal highness, for they exhibit themselves in too plain and obvious a light to be mistaken as to their origin. But there is one point in this complicated business which deserves particular attention, and the solution of which can only be gained by analogical reasoning. The accuser, who is firmly persuaded of the validity of the charges which he adduces against an individual, goes fearlessly and boldly to work; he is not to be deterred from prosecuting his charges, by any threats, nor by any pompous and blustering show of defiance on the part of the accused. He produces his "honourable and unbiassed witnesses" to prove the guilt—he asks for no delay, but what is absolutely necessary for the production of those witnesses—he makes no attempt to tire out and harass the accused by shuffling or subterfuge, nor by those skilful evasions which are ever indicative of a rotten cause. But was this the case with the accusers of her royal highness, or with those who instigated the accusation? Did they not, after her vindicatory letter, and which came upon them like a bolt from Heaven, pause, and twist, and shuffle, and wriggle about in the net in which they found themselves entangled, crying to each other, in the most doleful accents, for re-

lief, whilst over them, in proud defiance, stood the illustrious accused; and, by the single prowess of her mind, dared them to bring her before that tribunal, where her innocence would stand manifest to the nation? Did she stand abashed, or was she confounded with the enormity of her supposed guilt? Did she fly from her accusers? Did she supplicate them for mercy? Did she

> ——————— Crouch and cringe,
> And play the dog before them;
> And, fawning, lick the hand prepared
> To deal the fatal blow?

No. She shrunk not a step from the contest. When they paused, she paused not: she had entered the lists, and she was determined the contest should be decided; truth and justice were her shield, and she gained the victory.

These reflections have been excited by the delay which took place from the time when her royal highness transmitted her celebrated letter to the king, to that, when it was deemed necessary to submit its contents to the ministers of the crown. It is not common for the accuser to be tardy in his operations, when he knows his cause is just; but in this instance it was the accused goading on the accuser. "If you cannot prove my guilt, you shall not hinder me from proving my innocence." This was a right principle of action, and worthy of the illustrious individual against whom the accusation was brought.

Four months had elapsed since the letter of

vindication had been sent; during which time her royal highness had been exposed to all the tortures of the most agonizing suspense, when his majesty referred her letters to his cabinet ministers, and required their opinion and advice as to what steps he ought to pursue in the case.

The whigs, who were then in power, felt some difficulty as to the course which they should pursue; but at length, on January 25, 1807, they came to a resolution in the form of the following cabinet minute:

Downing-street, Jan. 25, 1807.

PRESENT,

The Lord Chancellor,	Lord Viscount Howick,
Lord President,	Lord Grenville,
Lord Privy Seal,	Lord Ellenborough,
Earl Spencer,	Mr. Secretary Windham,
Earl of Moira,	Mr. Grenville.
Lord Henry Petty,	

Your majesty's confidential servants have given the most diligent and attentive consideration to the matters on which your majesty has been pleased to require their opinion and advice. They trust your majesty will not think that any apology is necessary on their part for the delay which has attended their deliberations, on a subject of such extreme importance, and which they have found to be of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment.

They are fully convinced that it never can have been your majesty's intention to require from them, that they should lay before your majesty a detailed and circumstantial examination and discussion of the various arguments and allegations contained in the letter submitted to your majesty, by the law advisers of the Princess of Wales.

And they beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your majesty that the laws and constitution of their country have not placed them in a situation in which they can conclusively pronounce on any question of guilt or innocence affecting any of your majesty's subjects, much less one of your majesty's royal family. They have, indeed, no power or authority whatever to enter on such a course or inquiry as could alone lead to any final results of such a nature.

The main question on which they had conceived themselves called upon by their duty to submit their advice to your majesty was this: whether the circumstances which had, by your majesty's commands, been brought before them, were of a nature to induce your majesty to order any farther steps to be taken upon them by your majesty's government? And on this point they humbly submit to your majesty, that the advice which they offered was clear and unequivocal. Your majesty has since been pleased further to require, that they should submit to your majesty their opinions as to the answer to be given by your majesty to the request contained in the princess's letter, and as to the manner in which that answer should be communicated to her royal highness.

They have, therefore, in dutiful obedience to your majesty's commands, proceeded to re-consider the whole of the subject, in this new view of it; and after much deliberation, they have agreed humbly to recommend to your majesty, the draft of a message, which if approved by your majesty, they would humbly suggest your majesty might send to her royal highness through the Lord Chancellor.

Having before humbly submitted to your majesty their opinion, that the facts of the case did not warrant their advising that any further steps should be taken upon it by your majesty's government, they have not thought it necessary to

advise your majesty any longer to decline receiving the princess into your royal presence. But the result of the whole case does, in their judgment, render it indispensable that your majesty should, by a serious admonition, convey to her royal highness your majesty's expectation that her royal highness should be more circumspect in her future conduct; and they trust that in the terms in which they have advised, that such admonition should be conveyed, your majesty will not be of opinion, on a full consideration of the evidence and answer, that they can be considered as having at all exceeded the necessity of the case, as arising out of the last reference which your majesty has been pleased to make to them.

With all the coolness and indifference which may be considered as indispensable traits in the character of a lawyer, the Lord Chancellor transmitted a message from his majesty to her royal highness, founded on the foregoing minute, and which was accompanied by the following laconic note from himself:

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to present his most humble duty to the Princess of Wales, and to transmit to her royal highness the accompanying message from the king; which her royal highness will observe, he has his majesty's commands to communicate to her royal highness.

The Lord Chancellor would have done himself the honour to have waited personally upon her royal highness, and have delivered it himself; but he considered the sending it sealed, as more respectful and acceptable to her royal highness. The Lord Chancellor received the original paper from the king yesterday, and made the copy now sent in his own hand.

January 28, 1807.

The king having referred to his confidential servants the proceeding and papers relative to the written declarations, which had been before his majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprized by them, that after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on the subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the Princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions submitted to his majesty in the original report of the four lords, by whom his majesty directed that the matter should in the first instance be inquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his majesty's government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

In this situation, his majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence.

The king sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords, upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery brought forward against the princess by Lady Douglas.

On the other matters produced in the course of the inquiry, the king is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally or conclusively established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared cir-

cumstances of conduct on the part of the princess, which his majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his majesty and the royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state, and the personal feelings of his majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his majesty cannot therefore forbear to express in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future be observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family.

His majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales, by his Lord Chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales.

Although in this message of the king's, there was some wormwood of rather an uncomfortable nature to her royal highness, yet she lost no time in replying to it in the following letter:

Montague-house, Jan. 29th, 1807.

SIRE,

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the paper, which, by your majesty's direction, was yesterday transmitted to me by the Lord Chancellor, and to express the unfeigned happiness which I have derived from one part of it. I mean that which informs me, that your majesty's confidential servants have, at length, thought proper to communicate to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for your majesty to decline receiving me into your royal presence." And I, therefore, humbly hope, that

your majesty will be graciously pleased to receive with favour the communication of my intention to avail myself, with your majesty's permission, of that advice, for the purpose of waiting upon your majesty on Monday next, if that day should not be inconvenient; when I hope again to have the happiness of throwing myself, in filial duty and affection, at your majesty's feet.

Your majesty will easily conceive, that I reluctantly name so distant a day as Monday, but I do not feel myself sufficiently recovered from the measles, to venture upon so long a drive at an earlier day. Feeling, however, very anxious to receive again, as soon as possible, that blessing, of which I have been so long deprived, if that day should happen to be, in any degree, inconvenient, I humbly entreat and implore your majesty's most gracious and paternal goodness, to name some other day, as early as possible, for that purpose.

I am, &c.

To the King. C. P.

The reply of the king to this letter was as follows:—

Windsor-castle, January 29th, 1807.

The king has this moment received the Princess of Wales's letter, in which she intimates her intention of coming to Windsor on Monday next; and his majesty, wishing not to put the princess to the inconvenience of coming to this place so immediately after her illness, hastens to acquaint her, that he shall prefer to receive her in London, upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which will also better suit his majesty, and of which he will not fail to apprize the princess.

GEORGE R.

To the Princess of Wales.

Thus every thing appeared to be satisfactorily settled, and her royal highness saw herself on the eve of being restored to society. The storm appeared to have passed over her head, and a sunshine of future happiness dawned upon her. But transitory, indeed, was the pleasing prospect which presented itself to her imagination; for, on the 10th February, about the time that she expected to receive a notification from his majesty, of the day on which he would receive her, all her prospects were suddenly clouded by the receipt of the following message from the king:—

Windsor-castle, February 10th, 1807.

As the Princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the king's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the king directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The king, therefore, considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the further result of the prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

GEORGE R.

To the Princess of Wales.

It was now that the advisers of her royal highness began to change the tone of her letters, and from the plaintive to burst forth into the indignant. They saw the strong influence which was operating on the mind of his majesty; and, as it worked in secret, its danger was the more to be dreaded. Her royal highness answered the above communication from his majesty on the 12th February in the following terms:—

Montague-house, February 12th, 1807.

SIRE,

I received yesterday, and with inexpressible pain, your majesty's last communication. The duty of stating, in a representation to your majesty, the various grounds upon which I feel the hardship of my case, and upon which I confidently hope that, upon a review of it, your majesty will be disposed to recal your last determination, is a duty I owe to myself: and I cannot forbear, at the moment when I acknowledge your majesty's letter, to announce to your majesty, that I propose to execute that duty without delay.

After having suffered the punishment of banishment from your majesty's presence for seven months, pending an inquiry, which your majesty had directed into my conduct, affecting both my life and my honour;—after that inquiry had, at length, terminated in the advice of your majesty's confidential and sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for your majesty's declining to receive me;—if after your majesty's gracious communication, which led me to rest assured that your majesty would appoint an early day to receive me;—if after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the Prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first inquiry had been directed, I now find

that that punishment, which has been inflicted, pending a seven months' inquiry before the determination, should, contrary to the opinion of your majesty's servants, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the lawyers of the Prince of Wales; it is impossible that I can fail to assert to your majesty, with the effect due to truth, that I am, in the consciousness of my innocence, and with a strong sense of my unmerited sufferings,

Your majesty's most dutiful, and most affectionate,
but much injured subject and daughter-in-law,
C. P.

To the King.

Her royal highness was not long in fulfilling the intention, communicated in the above letter, and on March 5th, the following able epistle was transmitted to the king:

SIRE,

By my short letter to your majesty of the 12th instant, in answer to your majesty's communication of the 10th, I notified my intention of representing to your majesty the various grounds on which I felt the hardship of my case and a review of which, I confidently hoped, would dispose your majesty to recal your determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, my reception into your royal presence; a determination which, in addition to all the other pain which it brought along with it, affected me with the disappointment of hopes, which I had fondly cherished, with the most perfect confidence, because they rested on your majesty's gracious assurance.

Independently, however, of that communication from your majesty, I should have felt myself bound to have

troubled your majesty with much of the contents of th present letter.

Upon the receipt of the paper which, by your majesty's commands, was transmitted to me by the Lord Chancellor, on the 28th of last month, and which communicated to me the joyful intelligence, that your majesty was "advised, that it was no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence," I conceived myself necessarily called upon to send an immediate answer to so much of it as respected that intelligence. I could not wait the time, which it would have required, to state those observations, which it was impossible for me to refrain from making, at some period, upon the other important particulars which that paper contained. Accordingly, I answered it immediately; and, as your majesty's gracious and instant reply of last Thursday fortnight, announced to me your pleasure, that I should be received by your majesty, on a day subsequent to the then ensuing week, I was led most confidently to assure myself, that the last week would not have passed, without my having received that satisfaction. I therefore determined to wait in patience, without further intrusion upon your majesty, till I might have the opportunity of guarding myself from the possibility of being misunderstood, by personally explaining to your majesty, that, whatever observations I had to make upon the paper so communicated to me, on the 28th ultimo, and whatever complaints respecting the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against me, and the unsatisfactory state, in which they were at length left by that last communication, they were observations and complaints which affected those only, under whose advice your majesty had acted, and were not, in any degree, intended to intimate even the most distant insinuation against your majesty's justice or kindness.

That paper established the opinion, which I certainly had

ever confidently entertained, but the justness of which I had not before any document to establish, that your majesty had, from the first, deemed this proceeding a high and important matter of state, in the consideration of which your majesty had not felt yourself at liberty to trust to your own generous feelings, and to your own royal and gracious judgment. I never did believe, that the cruel state of anxiety, in which I had been kept, ever since the delivery of my answer, (for at least sixteen weeks), could be at all attributable to your majesty: it was most unlike every thing which I had ever experienced from your majesty's condescension, feeling, and justice; and I found, from that paper, that it was to your confidential servants I was to ascribe the length of banishment from your presence, which they, at last, advised your majesty, it was no longer necessary should be continued. I perceive, therefore, what I always believed, that it was to them, and to them only, that I owed the protracted continuance of my sufferings, and of my disgrace; and that your majesty, considering the whole of this proceeding to have been instituted and conducted under the grave responsibility of your majesty's servants, had not thought proper to take any step, or express any opinion, upon any part of it, but such as was recommended by their advice. Influenced by these sentiments, and anxious to have the opportunity of conveying them, with the overflowings of a grateful heart, to your majesty, what were my sensations of surprise, mortification, and disappointment, on the receipt of your majesty's letter of the 10th instant, your majesty may conceive, though I am utterly unable to express.

That letter announces to me, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which your majesty directed your cabinet to transmit to him, made a personal communication to your majesty of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers, accom-

[illegible] that your majesty would suspend any [illegible] in the business, until the Prince of Wales [illegible] to submit to your majesty the statement [illegible] to make; and it also announces to me [illegible] majesty therefore considered it incumbent on you [illegible] a day to me, until the further result of the [illegible] of Wales's intention should have been made known [illegible] majesty.

This determination of your majesty, on this request, made by his royal highness, I humbly trust your majesty will permit me to entreat you, in your most gracious justice, to reconsider. Your majesty, I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the Prince of Wales, to think this determination necessary, or your majesty's generosity and justice would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such a time, and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your majesty will hasten to recal it

I should basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it. Your majesty will better perceive the just grounds of my complaint, when I retrace the course of these proceedings from their commencement.

The four noble lords, appointed by your majesty to inquire into the charges brought against me, in their Report of the 14th of July last, after having stated that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had had laid before him the charge which was made against me by Lady Douglas, and the declaration in support of it, proceed in the following manner:—

"In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his royal

highness had adopted *the only course* which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other facts of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent,) *one line only* could be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

"Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands, the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the information, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them."

His royal highness then, pursuing, as the four lords say, *the only course* which could, in their judgment, with propriety be pursued, submitted the matter to your majesty.—Your majesty directed the inquiry by the four noble lords.—The four lords, in their report upon the case, justly acquitted me of all crime, and expressed (I will not wait now to say how unjustly) the credit which they gave, and the consequence they ascribed to other matters, which they did not, however, characterize as amounting to any crime.—To this Report I made my answer.—That answer, together with the whole proceedings, was referred by your majesty to the same four noble lords, and others of your majesty's confidential servants. They advised your majesty, amongst

much other matter, (which must be the subject of further observations) that there was no longer any reason why you should decline receiving me.

Your majesty will necessarily conceive that I have always looked upon my banishment from your royal presence as, in fact, a punishment, and a severe one too. I thought it sufficiently hard, that I should have been suffering that punishment, during the time that this inquiry has been pending, while I was yet only under accusation, and upon the principles of the just laws of your majesty's kingdom, entitled to be presumed to be innocent, till I was proved to be guilty. But I find this does not appear to be enough, in the opinion of the Prince of Wales. For now, when after this long inquiry, into matters which required immediate investigation, I have been acquitted of every thing which could call for my banishment from your royal presence;—after your majesty's confidential servants have thus expressly advised your majesty that they see no reason why you should any longer decline to receive me into your presence;—after your majesty had graciously notified to me, your determination to receive me at an early day, his royal highness interposes the demand of a new delay; desires your majesty not to take any step; desires you not to act upon the advice which your own confidential servants have given you, that you need no longer decline seeing me;—not to execute your intention and assurance, that you would receive me at an early day;—because he has laid the documents before his lawyers, and intends to prepare a further statement. And the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, is, as it were, appealed from by the Prince of Wales, (whom, from this time at least, I must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of my accuser);—the justice due to me is to be suspended, while the judgment of your majesty's sworn servants is to be submitted to the revision of my accuser's counsel; and I, though acquitted, in the

opinion of your majesty's confidential servants, of all that should induce your majesty to decline seeing me, am to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon me during the inquiry, continued after that acquittal, till a fresh statement is prepared, to be again submitted, for aught I know, to another inquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which has just terminated.

Can it be said that the proceedings of the four noble lords, or of your majesty's confidential servants, have been so lenient and considerate towards me and my feelings, as to induce a suspicion that I have been too favourably dealt with by them? and that the advice which has been given to your majesty, that your majesty need no longer decline to receive me, was hastily and partially delivered? I am confident that your majesty must see the very reverse of this to be the case—that I have every reason to complain of the inexplicable delay which so long withheld that advice. And the whole character of the observations with which they accompanied it, marks the reluctance with which they yielded to the necessity of giving it.

For your majesty's confidential servants advise your majesty, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence." If this is their opinion and their advice now, why was it not their opinion and their advice four months ago, from the date of my answer? Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original report itself? For not only had they been in possession of my answer for above *sixteen weeks*, which at least furnished them with all the materials on which this advice at length was given, but further, your majesty's confidential servants are forward to state, that after having read my observations, and the affidavits which they annexed to them, they agree in *the opinions* (not in any single opinion upon any particular branch of the case, but in *the opinions generally*) which were submitted

to your majesty in the original report of the four lords. If therefore (notwithstanding their concurrence in *all* the opinions contained in the report) they have nevertheless given to your majesty their advice, " that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me;"—what could have prevented their offering that advice, even from the 14th of July, the date of the original report itself? Or what could have warranted the withholding it, even for a single moment? Instead, therefore, of any trace being observable of hasty, precipitate, and partial determination in my favour, it is impossible to interpret their conduct and their reasons together in any other sense, than as amounting to an admission of your majesty's confidential servants themselves, that I have, in consequence of their withholding that advice, been unnecessarily and cruelly banished from your royal presence, from the 14th of July, to the 28th of January, including a space of above six months; and the effect of the interposition of the prince, is to prolong my sufferings and my disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.

The principle which will admit the effect of such interposition now, may be acted upon again; and the prince may require a further promulgation, upon fresh statements, and fresh charges, kept back possibly for the purpose of being, from time to time, conveniently interposed to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of my unmerited sufferings and disgrace, may, at the same time, expose the true, malicious, and unjust quality of the proceedings which have been so long carried on against me.

This unseasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of his royal highness, as I must ever deem it, has prevailed upon your majesty to recal, to my prejudice, your gracious purpose of receiving me in pursuance of the advice of your servants. Do I then flatter myself too much, when

I feel assured, that my *just* entreaty, founded upon the reasons which I urge, and directed to counteract only the effect of that *unjust* interposition, will induce your majesty to return to your original determination?

Restored however, as I should feel myself, to a state of comparative security, as well as credit, by being at length permitted, upon your majesty's gracious reconsideration of your last determination, to have access to your majesty; yet under all the circumstances under which I should now receive that mark and confirmation of your majesty's opinion of my innocence, my character would not, I fear, stand cleared in the public opinion, by the mere fact of your majesty's reception of me. This revocation of your majesty's gracious purpose has flung an additional cloud about the whole proceeding, and the inferences drawn in the public mind from this circumstance, so mysterious, and so perfectly inexplicable, upon any grounds which are open to their knowledge, has made, and will leave so deep an impression to my prejudice, as scarce any thing short of a public exposure of all that has passed, can possibly efface.

The publication of all these proceedings to the world, then seems to me, under the present circumstances, (whatever reluctance I feel against such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it) to be almost the only remaining resource, for the vindication of my honour and character. The falsehood of the accusation is, by no means, all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your majesty referred the consideration of them, will shew, that whatever measure of justice I may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any

merciful and indulgent consideration of me, of my feelings, or of my case.

It will be seen how my feelings had been harassed, and my character and honour exposed, by the delays which have taken place in these proceedings: it will be seen, that the existence of the charge against me had avowedly been known to the public, from the 7th of June in the last year.—I say known to the public, because it was on that day that the commissioners, acting, as I am to suppose, (for so they state in their report) under the anxious wish that their trust should be executed with as little publicity as possible, authorized that unnecessary insult and outrage upon me, as I must always consider it, which, however intended, gave the utmost publicity and exposure to the existence of these charges—I mean the sending two attornies, armed with their lordships' warrant, to my house, to bring before them at once about one half of my household for examination. The idea of privacy, after an act so much calculated, from the extraordinary nature of it, to excite the greatest attention and surprise, your majesty must feel to have been impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy, mystery, and concealment, on my part, could, under such circumstance, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.

It will appear also, that from that time, I heard nothing authentically upon the subject till the 11th of August, when I was furnished, by your majesty's commands, with the report. The several papers necessary to my understanding the whole of these charges, in the authentic state in which your majesty thought it proper graciously to direct that I should have them, were not delivered to me till the beginning of September. My answer to these various charges, though the whole subject of them was new to those whose advice I had recourse to, long as that answer

was necessarily obliged to be, was delivered to the Lord Chancellor, to be forwarded to your majesty by the 6th of October; and, from the 6th of October to the 28th of January, I was kept in total ignorance of the effect of that answer. Not only will all this delay be apparent, but it will be generally shewn to the world how your majesty's servants had, in this important business, treated your daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female, and a stranger in your land, has experienced at their hands.

Undoubtedly against such a proceeding I have ever felt, and still feel, an almost invincible repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy, with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity may be manifested by the answer to those charges;—the respect still due from me, to persons employed in authority under your majesty, however little respect I may have received from them;—my duty to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales;—my regard for all the members of your august family;—my esteem, my duty, my gratitude to your majesty,—my affectionate gratitude for all the paternal kindness which I have ever experienced from you;—my anxiety, not only to avoid the risk of giving any offence or displeasure to your majesty, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in the mind of your majesty, whose happiness it would be the pride and pleasure of my life to consult, and to promote; and these various sentiments have compelled me to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure, to all the unfavourable inferences which were, through this delay, daily increasing in the public mind. What the strength and efficacy of these motives have been, your majesty will do me the justice to feel, when you are pleased, graciously, to consider how long I have been con-

tented to suffer those suspicions to exist against my innocence, which the bringing before the public of my accusation and my defence to it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.

The measure, however, of making these proceedings public, whatever mode I can adopt (considering especially the absolute impossibility of suffering any partial production of them, and the necessity that, if for any purpose any part of them should be produced, the whole must be brought before the public) remains surrounded with all the objections which I have enumerated; and nothing could ever have prevailed upon me, or can now even prevail upon me to have recourse to it, but an imperious sense of indispensible duty to my future safety, to my present character and honour, and to the feelings, the character, and the interests of my child. I had flattered myself, when once this long proceeding should have terminated, in my reception into your majesty's presence, that that circumstance alone would have so strongly implied my innocence of all that had been brought against me, as to have been perfectly sufficient for my honour and my security; but accompanied, as it now must be, with the knowledge of the fact, that your majesty has been brought to hesitate upon its propriety, and accompanied also with the very unjustifiable observations, as they appear to me, on which I shall presently proceed to remark; and which were made by your majesty's servants, at the time when they gave you their advice to receive me; I feel myself in a situation, in which I deeply regret that I cannot rest, in silence, without an immediate reception into your majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it be attended by other circumstances, which may mark my satisfactory acquittal of the charges which have been brought against me.

It shall at no time be said, with truth, that I shrunk back from these infamous charges; that I crouched before my

enemies, and courted them, by my submission, into moderation? No; I have ever boldly defied them. I have ever felt and still feel, that, if they should think, either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise, to affect my honour; (since my conscience tells me that they must be as base and groundless as those brought by Lady Douglas,) while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct are all living, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whoever may be my accusers, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. But should these accusations be renewed; or any other be brought forward, in any future time, death may, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification, and my defence.

There are therefore other measures, which I trust your majesty will think indispensable to be taken, for my honour and for my security. Amongst these, I most humbly submit to your majesty my most earnest entreaties that the proceedings, including not only my first answer, and my letter of the 8th of December, but this letter also, may be directed by your majesty to be so preserved and deposited, as that they may, all of them, securely remain permanent authentic documents and memorials of this accusation and of the manner in which I met it; of my defence, as well as of the charge. That they may remain capable at any time, of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally, shall ever venture to renew it.

Beyond this, I am sure your majesty will think it but proper and just, that I should be restored, in every respect, to the same situation, from whence the proceedings, under these false charges, have removed me. That, besides being graciously received again into the bosom of your majesty's royal family, restored to my former respect and station amongst them, your majesty will be graciously pleased,

either to exert your influence with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that I may be restored to the use of my apartments in Carlton-house, which was reserved for me, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of these proceedings; or to assign to me some apartment in one of your royal palaces. Some apartment in or near to London is indispensably necessary for my convenient attendance at the drawing-room; and if I am not restored to that at Carlton-house, I trust your majesty will graciously perceive how reasonable it is, that I should request that some apartment should be assigned to me suited to my dignity and situation, which may mark my reception and acknowledgment as one of your majesty's family, and from which my attendance at the drawing-room may be easy and convenient.

If these measures are taken, I should hope that they would prove satisfactory to the public mind, and that I may feel myself fully restored in public estimation to my former character. And should they prove so satisfactory, I shall indeed be delighted to think, that no further step may, even now, appear to be necessary to my peace of mind, my security, and my honour.

But your majesty will permit me to say, that if the next week, which will make more than a month from the time of your majesty's informing me that you would receive me, should pass without my being received into your presence, and without having the assurance that these other requests of mine shall be complied with; I shall be under the painful necessity of considering them as refused. In which case I shall feel myself compelled, however reluctantly, to give the whole of these proceedings to the world,—unless your majesty can suggest other adequate means of securing my honour and my life from the effect of the continuance or renewal of these proceedings, for the future as well as the present; for I entreat your majesty to believe, that it is

only in the absence of all other adequate means, that I can have resort to that measure. That I consider it with deep regret; that I regard it with serious apprehension, by no means so much on account of the effect it may have upon myself, as on account of the pain which it may give to your majesty, your august family, and your loyal subjects.

As far as myself am concerned, I am aware of the observations to which this publication will expose me. But I am placed in a situation in which I have the choice only of two most unpleasant alternatives; and I am perfectly confident that the imputations and the loss of character which must, under these circumstances, follow from my silence, are most injurious and unavoidable; that my silence, under such circumstances, must lead inevitably to my utter infamy and ruin. The publication, on the other hand, will expose to the world nothing which is spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit is not unanswerably exposed and established) which can, in the slightest degree, affect my character for honour, virtue, and delicacy.

There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education and foreign habits misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character, from the nature of the charge which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view

the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently; and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the report of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

Whatever opinion, however, may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed, with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as Princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as Princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression in Mrs. Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and the manner of my receiving the visits of Captain Manby, though always in the presence of my ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another; as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that which might, in general, be expected from a married woman, living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked. But, beyond these general remarks in forming any estimate of my conduct, your majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

"*Windsor-castle, April* 30, 1796.

"MADAM,—As Lord Cholmondeley informs me, that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are

to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing at any period a connexion of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

"I am, Madam,

"With great truth, very sincerely your's,

"GEORGE P."

And that to this letter I sent the following answer:—

"L'aveu de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley, ni m'étonne, ni m'offense. C'étoit me confirmer, ce que vous m'avez tacitement insinué depuis une année. Mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse ou, pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne de me plaindre des conditions, que vous vous imposez à vous-même.

"Je ne vous aurois point fait de réponse, si votre lettre n'étoit conçue de manière à faire douter, si cet arrangement vient de vous, ou de moi; et vous savez que vous en avez seul l'honneur. La lettre que vous m'annoncez comme la dernière, m'oblige de communiquer au roi, comme à mon souverain, et à mon père, votre aveu et ma réponse. Vous

trouverez ci-incluse la copie de celle que j'écris au roi. Je vous en préviens pour ne pas m'attirer de votre part la moindre reproche de duplicité. Comme je n'ai dans ce moment, d'autre protecteur que sa majesté, je m'en rapporte uniquement à lui. Et si ma conduite mérite son approbation, je serai, du moins en partie, consolée.

" Du reste, je conserve toute la reconnoissance possible de ce que je me trouve par votre moyen, comme Princesse de Galles, dans une situation à pouvoir me livrer sans contrainte, à une vertu chère à mon cœur, je veux dire la bienfaisance. Ce sera pour moi un devoir d'agir de plus par un autre motif, savoir celui de donner l'exemple de la patience, et de la résignation dans toutes sortes d'épreuves. Rendez-moi la justice de me croire, que je ne cesserai jamais de faire des vœux pour votre bonheur, et d'être votre bien dévouée

" CAROLINE." *

" *Ce 6 de Mai*, 1796."

The date of his royal highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795, and that of the birth of our only child the 7th of January, 1796.

On the letter of his royal highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most refined delicacy. The crime, which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection the above letter of his royal highness might, in any construction of it,

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* For a translation of this letter, see p. 79.

be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes and faults derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct free from all crime, free from all indelicacy, (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs. Lisle's observations apply,) yet possibly not so measured as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe. Whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me, I must leave to your majesty to determine.

In making that determination, however, it will not escape your majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving, from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then is my case? Your majesty will do me the justice to remark, that, in the above letter of the Prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion

to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date, years and years after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and if in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country, I should in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank, I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence,) that not only your majesty's candour and indulgence, but the candour and indulgence which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.

It remains for me now to make some remarks upon the further contents of the paper, which was transmitted to me by the Lord Chancellor, on the 28th ult. And I cannot, in passing, omit to remark, that that paper has neither

title, date, signature, nor attestation; and unless the Lord Chancellor had accompanied it with a note, stating, that it was copied in his own hand from the original, which his lordship had received from your majesty, I should have been at a loss to have perceived any single mark of authenticity belonging to it; and as it is, I am wholly unable to discover what is the true character which does belong to it. It contains, indeed, the advice which your majesty's servants have offered to your majesty, and the message which, according to that advice, your majesty directed to be delivered to me.

Considering it, therefore, wholly as their act, your majesty will excuse and pardon me, if, deeply injured as I feel myself to have been by them, I express myself with freedom upon their conduct. I may speak, perhaps, with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice; I shall speak certainly with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence.

Your majesty's confidential servants say, "they agree in the opinions of the four lords," and they say this, "after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were annexed to them." Some of these opinions, your majesty will recollect, are, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle, are witnesses who cannot," in the judgment of the four lords, "be suspected of any unfavourable bias;" and "whose veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question;" and "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to Captan Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted." Am I then to understand your Majesty's confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four noble lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that after having read, with the fullest consideration, the observations which I have

offered to your majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by Sir John Douglas's solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of Lady Douglas, (of that Lady Douglas whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her as your majesty's law officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to be made)—after having seen this William Cole, submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your majesty's confidential servants agree with the four lords in thinking that he cannot, under such circumstances, *be suspected of unfavourable bias?* That after having had pointed out to them the direct flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, *yet both)* witnesses, *whose veracity they see no ground to question?* After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted, in an assertion most injurious to my honour, by Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades, do they agree in opinion with the four noble Lords, that they see *no ground to question her veracity?*—After having read the observations on Mr. Bidgood's evidence; after having seen that he had the hardihood to swear that he believed Captain Manby slept in my house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in my bed-room; after having seen that he founded himself on this most false fact, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of observing a basin and some towels where he thought they ought not to be

placed; after having seen that this fact, and this insinuation, were disproved before the four noble lords themselves, by two maid-servants, who at that time, lived with me at Southend, and whose duties about my person and my apartments, must have made them acquainted with this fact, as asserted, or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of another female servant (who was not examined), who had, from her situation, equal means of knowledge with themselves—I ask whether, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Robert Bidgood's testimony, I am to understand your majesty's confidential servants to agree with the four noble lords in thinking that Mr. Bidgood is a witness who *cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias*, and that there is *no ground to question his veracity?* If, sire, I were to go through all the remarks of this description, which occur to me to make, I should be obliged to repeat nearly all my former observations, and to make this letter as long as my original answer; but to that answer I confidentially appeal, and I will venture to challenge your majesty's confidential servants to find a single impartial and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in council, with those who have already pledged themselves to an opinion upon this subject, who will lay his hand upon his heart, and say that these three witnesses, on whom that report so mainly relies, are not to be suspected of the grossest partiality, and that their veracity is not most fundamentally impeached.

Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice, which had been, inadvertently, and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me, by the four noble lords in their report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your majesty, that they agree with these noble lords

in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice which restores me to your majesty's presence? And with respect to the particulars to my prejudice, remarked upon in the report as those "which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted," instead of fairly avowing, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them; instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatsoever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that "none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, could be considered as *legally* or *conclusively* established?"

They agree in the opinion that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, *must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration.* They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known, that no other sort of contradiction could, by possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects; they do not question the truth, they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party) they advise your majesty, that "there appear many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by your majesty without serious concern;" and that, as to all the other facts and allegations, except those relative to my pregnancy and delivery, they are not to be considered as "*legally and conclusively established,*"

because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They do not, indeed, expressly assert, that my contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they do not expressly state, that they think the facts and allegations want nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment, but a re-examination in the presence of the parties interested; but they go far to imply such opinions. That those opinions are utterly untenable, against the observations I have made upon the credit and character of those witnesses, I shall ever most confidentially maintain; but that those observations leave their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from your majesty's servants, it is impossible that any honourable man can assert, or any fair and unprejudiced mind believe.

I now proceed, sire, to observe, very shortly, upon the advice further given to your majesty as contained in the remaining part of the paper; which has represented that, both in the examinations, and even in my answer there have appeared many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which have suggested the expression of a desire and expectation that such a conduct may in future be observed by me, as may fully justify these marks of paternal regard and affection, which your majesty wishes to shew to all your royal family.

And here, sire, your majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardships of the advice, which has suggested to your majesty to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not contain; I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is that is the object of their blame. The circumstances of conduct, which appear in these examinations, and in my answer to which they allude as those which may be supposed to justify the advice, which has led to this reproof, since your Majesty's servants have not particularly men-

tioned them, I cannot be certain that I know. But I will venture confidently to repeat the assertion, which I have already made, that there are no circumstances of conduct, spoken to by any witness, (whose infamy and discredit are not unanswerably exposed, and established,) nor any where apparent in my answer which have the remotest approach either to crime, or to indelicacy.

For my future conduct, sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound, unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your majesty's pleasure. Any advice which your majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars of my conduct, I shall be bound, and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust that your majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered. I shall be as happy in thus feeling myself safe from blame under the benefit of your majesty's advice, as I am now in finding myself secured from danger, under the protection of your justice.

Your majesty will permit me to add one word more.

Your majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained by the false and malicious statement of Lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few, as it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined and unprovoked malignity, yet I cannot flatter myself that the world does not produce other persons, who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement to be prepared by the Prince of Wales is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the

same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice, inflamed rather than abated, by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex parte* secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations or suggestions, which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognise, should be brought against me in an open and a legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of so meeting it, I trust your majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty, for without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuation and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and can have no security.

Surrounded, as it is now proved that I have been for years, by domestic spies, your majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And, that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy, which I feel confident I have completely detected

and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection with the liveliest gratitude as the special blessing of providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons, which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

I trust therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your majesty that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.

I remain, Sire,
With every sentiment of gratitude,
Your majesty's most dutiful,
most submissive daughter-in-law,
subject and servant,

C. P.

Montague-house, February 16, 1807.

As these observations apply not only to the official communication through the Lord Chancellor, of the 28th ult.; but also to the private letter of your majesty on the 12th instant, I have thought it most respectful to your majesty and your majesty's servants so send this letter in duplicate, one part through Colonel Taylor, and the other through the Lord Chancellor, to your majesty.

To the King. C. P

SIRE,

When I last troubled your majesty upon my unfortunate business, I had raised my mind to hope, that I should have the happiness of hearing from your majesty, and receiving your gracious commands, to pay my duty in your royal presence, before the expiration of the last week. And when that hope was disappointed, (eagerly clinging to any idea which offered me a prospect of being saved from the necessity of having recourse, for the vindication of my character, to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into my conduct,) I thought it just possible that the reason for my not having received your majesty's commands to that effect, might have been occasioned by the circumstance of your majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. I therefore determined to wait a few days longer before I took a step which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, now assured myself that your majesty was in town yesterday—as I have received no command to wait upon your majesty, and no intimation of your pleasure—I am reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope, that your majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious requests.

Your majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find, that the publication of the proceedings alluded to will not be withheld beyond Monday next.

As to any consequences which may arise from such publication, unpleasant or hurtful to my own feelings and interests, I may perhaps be properly responsible; and, in any event, have no one to complain of but myself, and those with whose advice I have acted; and whatever those consequences may be, I am fully and unalterably convinced, that they must be incalculably less than those which I should be exposed to from my silence: but as to any other consequences, unpleasant or hurtful to the feelings and interests of others, or of the public, my conscience

will certainly acquit me of them;—I am confident that I have not acted impatiently or precipitately. To avoid coming to this painful extremity, I have taken every step in my power, except that which would be abandoning my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to no uncertain danger, and possibly, to no very distant destruction.

With every prayer, for the lengthened continuance of your majesty's health and happiness; for every possible blessing, which a gracious God can bestow upon the beloved monarch of a loyal people, and for the continued prosperity of your dominions, under your majesty's propitious reign, I remain,

Your majesty's most dutiful, loyal,
and affectionate, but most unhappy,
and most injured daughter-in-law,
subject, and servant,

C. P.

Montague-house, March 5, 1807.

To the King.

Soon after this letter was sent, the Grenville administration went out of office, and they were succeeded by the friends of the princess. It was therefore natural to suppose that the most complete justice would be done her. The new administration was formed of the very men who had so resolutely and so ably espoused and defended her cause, and who so openly and undisguisedly declared to his majesty their full conviction of her innocence. The situation of her royal highness was, however, in the mean time, most irksome

and harassing. She was well aware that the great obstacle to her reception at court rested with a late illustrious female, and not with his majesty himself; and so long as the Grenville administration was in office, which was known to be favourable to the views of her majesty, no hopes could be entertained by her royal highness of her restoration to her dignity and rank at court. The new ministers had not, however, been a month in office, when the following minute of council was determined upon:—

MINUTE OF COUNCIL, APRIL 22, 1807.

PRESENT,

Lord Chancellor (ELDON)	The Earl of BATHURST
Lord President (CAMDEN)	Viscount CASTLEREAGH
Lord Privy Seal (WESTMORLAND)	Lord MULGRAVE
	Mr. Secretary CANNING
The Duke of PORTLAND	Lord HAWKESBURY.
The Earl of CHATHAM	

Your majesty's confidential servants have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your majesty, on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed

his conduct, your majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your majesty their conviction that his royal highness could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the commissioners, and of the previous examination, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your majesty their unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence* of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

Your majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your majesty being advised to decline receiving the princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your majesty, that it is essentially necessary, *in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interests of your majesty's illustrious family,* that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales *should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into your majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your majesty's court and family.*

Your majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your majesty's government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the ground on which your majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your majesty's principal secretary of state.

The ministers, however, did not stop on simply recommending his majesty to receive his royal daughter-in-law, but they decided upon the following separate minute, which appeared on the same day as the foregoing:—

CABINET MINUTE, APRIL 21, 1807.

PRESENT,

The Lord Chancellor	The Earl of Bathurst
The Lord President	Viscount Castlereagh
The Lord Privy Seal	Lord Mulgrave
The Duke of Portland	Mr. Secretary Canning
The Earl of Chatham	Lord Hawkesbury.

Your majesty's confidential servants think it necessary to notice, in a separate minute, the request of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that for her more convenient attendance at your majesty's court, some apartment should be allotted to her in one of the royal palaces: although it appears to your majesty's confidential servants, that some arrangement in this respect may be supposed naturally to arise out of the present state of this transaction

yet they humbly conceive that this is a subject so purely of a private and domestic nature, that your majesty would not expect from them any particular advice respecting it.

In consequence of these minutes, her royal highness was received at court, and apartments were allotted to her in Kensington-palace; but it does not appear that she was ever on the same footing, either at court or in the royal family, as she had formerly been. Her triumph over her enemies was however complete; and having gained the object of her wishes, she seldom appeared at court but on his majesty's birth-day; living almost in a state of complete estrangement from the illustrious family, of which she was so distinguished a member, and dedicating her time to the mental improvement of her beloved daughter.

Her royal highness was, however, at this time doomed to experience a severe affliction in the death of her gallant father, who was killed at the battle of Jena, thereby rendering her situation still more isolated, and depriving her of another defender from the malevolent attacks which were in a short time to be directed towards her.

If, however, any thing could compensate her royal highness for the loss of her gallant parent, it was the arrival of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick; who, seeing the territory of her family overrun by foreign invaders, sought an asylum in her native land, and an assuagement

of her affliction in the society of her brother and her daughter.

The arrival of the Duchess of Brunswick appeared for a time to draw the bonds of intimacy and affection closer between his late majesty and her royal highness. His visits were more frequent; and although he did not instil into the mind of his royal daughter-in-law any hope of an ultimate reconciliation taking place with her illustrious husband, yet he expressed his firm conviction, that provided her conduct was regulated by the rules of decorum and propriety, the circumstances of the late investigation would be buried in oblivion. How far his majesty was correct in this opinion, the sequel will testify; it is, however, proper to surmise, that no ulterior proceedings were instituted against her royal highness till Heaven had pleased to visit his majesty with his mental derangement.

In 1809, the affairs of the princess were found to be greatly embarrassed, and that her debts amounted to 52,300*l.*; accordingly the creditors of her royal highness applied for payment to the king's ministers, the Duke of Portland and Mr. Perceval, who referred them to the Prince of Wales. A negotiation was immediately set on foot, which concluded by a deed of separation being signed by the prince and princess, by which it was agreed that the former should pay the debts of the princess to the amount of 49,000*l.*; for which sum he was to be exonerated

from all future demands on her account, except an addition of 5,000*l.* per annum to her maintenance, making, with the former 17,000*l.*, 22,000*l.* per annum, which was to be under the control of a treasurer, in order to provide against future debts; the remaining 3,300*l.* to be gradually liquidated by her royal highness's treasurer out of her increased allowance. This arrangement was sanctioned by the king and his ministers.

In the mean time, the arrows of calumny continued to be directed against her royal highness. Her judges, as they may strictly be called, had declared her innocence, but the hydra of malignant detraction scarcely suffered a revolution of the earth to take place without vomiting, from one of its thousand heads, some false and infamous charge; which, although it generally recoiled upon itself, yet to the weak and the wicked, and the multitude, who love to gorge themselves with calumny, it was too frequently gratifying, and too widely disseminated. It is proper, in this place, to state that the details respecting what has been falsely called the "*Delicate Investigation*," and which comprises the depositions and the letters already given in this work, were, although ready for publication, suddenly withdrawn from the public eye. The work was very generally advertised under the title of "*The Book*," and after having excited a degree of interest unknown before to the reading portion of the public, it furnished a fine opportunity for the ignorant, the

interested, the envious, and the malicious, to give the accusations and circumstances all the obliquity and distortion of their own narrow and diseased minds.

The cause of this extraordinary suppression of *The Book* was shortly afterwards evinced in the exaltation of Mr. Perceval to the chancellorship of the exchequer; not however until he had cleared his illustrious client of every imputation, restored her to court and to society, obtained for her apartments in Kensington-palace, which exceeded all that her most sanguine wishes could have anticipated.

From his subsequent conduct, however, it would seem that he had acted under a different feeling. When the regency came to be established in the person of the Prince of Wales—when the husband came to be exalted to the rank, the splendour, and the power of a king, the Princess of Wales was still left in her former comparatively obscure and penurious state. The conduct, however, of Mr. Perceval on this occasion excited, at the time, a considerable degree of animadversion. He had indeed relieved the princess from the consequences of a foul calumny, but her husband being now exalted, her non-exaltation operated, with regard to her character, in nearly the same way as her exclusion from court had formerly operated.

Although the situation of her royal highness was at this time by no means in uniformity with

the rank to which her illustrious husband was exalted, and notwithstanding the implied censures, the insidious sneers, and the covert attacks, which continued to be made by those wretched ephemera, whom the sun of court favour had called from their native dust to crawl and bask about in the courts of kings, her royal highness preserved a most dignified silence; and she would probably have remained in retirement, without noticing the insects who threatened her with their petty malignity, if her maternal feelings had not been deeply wounded by the attempts which were made to destroy all intercourse between her and her much lamented daughter.

The restraints which were imposed on the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte, arose in consequence of alleged improprieties in the conduct of the former when the latter was present. These improprieties may, however, be considered in the same light as the alleged pregnancy of her royal highness, and may be traced to the same slanderous and envenomed source. There is a point, however, beyond which human forbearance cannot go; and it is not less certain that forbearance, especially when character is in question, lays the individual open to the suspicion and the attack of those malevolent slanderers, who are ever upon the alert to wound the feelings of their fellow creatures.

Her royal highness probably would have turned a deaf ear to the malicious reports which were floating on the feculent stream of public report, but she could not endure to be debarred the society of her daughter, on the ground of alleged improprieties, of which she knew herself wholly innocent. Her indignation at length burst forth, and, on the 14th January, 1813, a sealed letter was transmitted to Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon, by Lady Charlotte Campbell, as lady-in-waiting for the month, expressing her royal highness's pleasure that it should be presented to the Prince Regent, and there was an open copy enclosed for the perusal of the noble lords.

On the following day, the Earl of Liverpool presented his compliments to Lady Charlotte Campbell, and returned the letter unopened.

On the 16th, it was returned by Lady Charlotte, intimating that as it contained matter of importance to the state, she relied on their laying it before his royal highness. It was again returned unopened, with the Earl of Liverpool's compliments to Lady Charlotte, saying, that the prince saw no reason to depart from his determination.

On the 17th, it was returned in the same way, by command of her royal highness, expressing her confidence that the two noble lords would not take upon themselves the responsibility of not communicating the letter to his royal highness, and that she should not be the only subject

in the empire whose petition was not to be permitted to reach the throne. To this an answer was given, that the *contents* of it had been made known to the prince.

On the 19th, her royal highness directed a letter to be addressed to the two noble lords, desiring to know whether it had been made known to his royal highness, by being read to him, and to know his pleasure thereon.

No answer was given to this letter, and therefore, on the 26th, she directed a letter to be written, expressing her surprise that no answer had been given to her application for a whole week.

To this an answer was received, addressed to the princess, stating that in consequence of her royal highness's demand, her letter had been read to the Prince Regent on the 23d, but that he had not been pleased to express his pleasure thereon.

The following is a copy of this important document; and the publication of which appears to have exposed her royal highness to the severest treatment:—

Si,

It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your royal highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more

weighty occupations of your royal highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper that I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your royal highness knows.

But, sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice: and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your royal highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

It may be known to your royal highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mor-

tification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your royal highness, the natural protector of both.

I presume, sir, to represent to your royal highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your royal highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your royal highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your royal highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your royal highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced; or is wicked and false enough still to whisper sus-

picions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

The feelings, sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your royal highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your royal highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your royal highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for her sake I presume to call away your royal highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your royal highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

It is impossible, sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your royal highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence.

But let me implore your royal highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your royal highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

Those who have advised you, sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her resi-

dence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journies to town, which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your royal highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your royal highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your royal highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devotedly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to shew, by a new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

I am, sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,

Your royal highness's
Most devoted and most affectionate
Consort, Cousin, and Subject,
CAROLINE AMELIA.

Montague-house, January 14, 1814.

In consequence of this letter, which soon after it was sent appeared, through some unknown channel, in one of the public papers, various cabinet meetings were held; the subject underwent warm and repeated discussion in the public press, and party feeling was carried to its climax; but no step appears to have been taken by the prince's party to allay the agitation which was manifested in the public mind, and which tended in no small degree to detract from the popularity which his royal highness enjoyed.

We must now advert to another circumstance connected with the charges which were brought, and attempted to be substantiated, against the Princess of Wales.

The Princess Charlotte had, in the early part of 1813, taken up her residence at Windsor, for the purpose, as it was reported, of re-establishing her health; but it was subsequently disclosed, that the residence at Windsor was selected for her in order to remove her to a greater distance from her mother, with whom the communication would, to a certain degree, be in consequence wholly closed, or at least it would be attended with that difficulty which was not easily to be overcome.

On February the 5th, the Prince Regent gave a magnificent fête at Carlton-house, at which the Princess Charlotte was present, having come from Windsor for the express purpose of attending it. At the fête her royal highness caught cold,

which added considerably to her former malady, and her royal highness was necessarily obliged to defer her return to Windsor.

In consequence of this, the Princess of Wales, on the 8th February, addressed a letter to Lord Liverpool, desiring he would communicate to the Prince Regent her royal highness's intention to visit the Princess Charlotte at Warwick-house. Lord Liverpool replied, that he was happy to announce the Princess Charlotte so much better, that her royal highness would be able to visit the Princess of Wales at Kensington-palace on the following Thursday, February 11; but on that morning the Princess of Wales received information that the Princess Charlotte was refused coming.

Upon this, the Princess of Wales again addressed Lord Liverpool, to know the reason, none having been assigned, for the Princess Charlotte being thus suddenly prohibited from giving the meeting to her royal mother; and when, and how soon, her royal highness might expect to see the Princess Charlotte. To this inquiry, the Princess of Wales received the following reply:—

Fife-House, Feb. 14, 1813.

Lord Liverpool has the honour to inform your royal highness, that in consequence of the publication, in the Morning Chronicle of the 10th inst., of a letter addressed by your royal highness to the Prince Regent, his royal highness thought fit, by the advice of his confidential ser-

vants, to signify his commands that the intended visit of the Princess Charlotte to your royal highness on the following day should not take place.

Lord Liverpool is not enabled to make any further communication to your royal highness on the subject of your royal highness's note.

To this letter, the Princess of Wales commanded Lady Anne Hamilton, her lady-in-waiting, to reply, as follows, to Lord Liverpool:—

Montague-House, Blackheath, Feb. 15, 1813.

Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her royal highness the Princess of Wales to represent to Lord Liverpool that the insidious insinuation, respecting the publication of the letter addressed by the Princess of Wales, on the 14th of January, to the Prince Regent, conveyed in his lordship's reply to her royal highness, is as void of foundation, and as false, as all the former accusations of the traducers of her royal highness's honour in the year 1806.

Lady A. Hamilton is further commanded to say, that dignified silence would have been the line of conduct the princess would have preserved upon such insinuation (more than unbecoming Lord Liverpool), did not the effect arising from it operate to deprive her royal highness of the sole real happiness she can possess in this world—that of seeing her only child. And the confidential servants of the Prince Regent ought to feel ashamed of their conduct towards the princess, in avowing to her royal highness their advice to the Prince Regent, that upon unauthorized and unfounded suppositions, a mother and daughter should be prevented from meeting—a prohibition positively against the law of nature. Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded further to desire Lord Liverpool to lay this paper before the Prince

Regent, that his royal highness may be aware into what errors his confidential servants are leading him, and will involve him, by counselling and signifying such commands

Here closed the correspondence.

It is certain, that the attention and interest of the nation were first drawn to this subject in consequence of the publication of the princess's letter to the prince, which was followed by the publication of most of the other documents which have been already given in this work, as well as of the depositions on which the charges were founded; the public papers in the interest of the prince publishing the depositions, and the papers which favoured the princess publishing her explanatory and vindicating letters. It was a subject well calculated to excite a very deep and general degree of interest, but perhaps there scarcely ever was a subject on which the nation was so nearly agreed. Even those who believed that her royal highness had not been free from blame, were yet decidedly of opinion that she had been most unfairly and harshly treated, not only in the original report, but in almost all the subsequent stages of the proceeding; while the very great majority, who had not a doubt of her complete innocence, and who believed her conduct to have been spotless in every respect and on every occasion, was disposed to give a character to the proceeding against her which we

do not think it safe to describe. In a very short time, nothing was talked of but the hardship of her case; and as the British nation is never slow to sympathize with the afflicted, and to support the persecuted, the Princess of Wales, more particularly as a female, a deserted wife, and the mother of the presumptive sovereign of these realms, obtained the most full portion of British sympathy and support.

The intercourse of the Princess of Wales with her beloved daughter being now almost wholly closed, and the former understanding that meetings of the privy council still continued to be held, the object of which was to examine anew into the charges against her royal highness, she felt herself bound to take some public and decisive step for the protection of her own honour and character; and accordingly she addressed the following letter to Lord Harrowby:—

February 27, 1813.

The Princess of Wales has received reports from various quarters, of certain proceedings lately held by his majesty's privy council respecting her royal highness; and the princess has felt persuaded that these reports must be unfounded, because she could not believe it possible that any resolution should be taken by that most honourable body in any respect affecting her royal highness, upon statements which she has had no opportunity of answering, explaining, or even seeing.

The princess still trusts that there is no truth in these rumours; but she feels it due to herself to lose no time in

protesting against any resolution affecting her royal highness, which may be so adopted.

The noble and right honourable persons who are said to have been selected for these proceedings, are too just to decide any thing touching her royal highness, without affording her an opportunity of laying her case before them. The princess has not had any power to choose the judges before whom any inquiry may be carried on; but she is perfectly willing to have her whole conduct inquired into by the persons who may be selected by her accusers. The princess only demands that she may be heard in defence or in explanation of her conduct, if it is attacked; and that she should be either treated as innocent, or proved to be guilty.

To this letter, Lord Harrowby replied, that a copy of the report laid before the Prince Regent, had been transmitted that same evening to the Princess of Wales by Viscount Sidmouth.

The report is as follows:—

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

The following members of his majesty's most honourable privy council, viz.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,
The right honourable the Lord High Chancellor,
His Grace the Archbishop of York,
His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland
The Lord President of the Council,
The Lord Privy Seal,
The Earl of Buckinghamshire,
The Earl Bathurst,
The Earl of Liverpool,
The Earl of Mulgrave,
The Viscount Melville,

The Viscount Sidmouth,
The Viscount Castlereagh,
The right honourable the Lord Bishop of London,
The right honourable Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench,
The right hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons,
The right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
The right honourable the Chancellor of the Duchy,
His honour the Master of the Rolls,
The right honourable the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas,*
The right honourable the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer,
The right honourable the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty,
The right honourable the Dean of the Arches;

Having been summoned by command of your royal highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of Viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms;—

My Lords,—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an inquiry instituted by command of his majesty, in the year 1806, and contains, among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the Prince Regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education

* The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas was prevented by indisposition from attending, during any part of these proceedings.

of his daughter the Princess Charlotte; and his royal highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverting to the directions heretofore given by his majesty, that the documents relating to the said inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his majesty's principal secretary of state, in order that his majesty's government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary, his royal highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his majesty's most honourable privy council, for your consideration: and that you should report to his royal highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions.

Their lordships adjourned their meetings to Tuesday, the 23d of February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your royal highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your royal highness as follows:—

In obedience to the commands of your royal highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to your royal highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your royal highness, in which letter the Princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between her royal highness and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.

We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your royal highness, all the documents relative to the inquiry instituted in 1806, by command of his majesty, into the truth of certain representations, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your royal highness, in consequence of the advice of Lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty; by whom they were transmitted to his majesty's consideration; and your royal highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your royal highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint:

We beg leave humbly to report to your royal highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness, in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state,—that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exceed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your royal highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte; as it appears, by a statement under the hand of her Majesty the Queen, that your royal highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will

of his majesty, who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till her royal highness should have completed her eighteenth year.

We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice some expressions in the letter of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words—"suborned traducers." As this expression, from the manner it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of your royal highness; we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before us, afford the most ample proof, that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

C. CANTUAR,	SIDMOUTH,
ELDON,	J. LONDON,
E. EBOR,	ELLENBOROUGH,
W. ARMAGH,	CHAS. ABBOT,
HARROWBY, P. C.	N. VANSITTART.
WESTMORELAND, C.P.S.	C. BATHURST,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,	W. GRANT,
BATHURST,	A MACDONALD
LIVERPOOL,	W. SCOTT,
MULGRAVE,	J. NICHOL.
MELVILLE,	

A true copy, SIDMOUTH.

Whilst these affairs were transacting in the public councils of the nation, circumstances of a not less interesting nature were passing in the immediate circle of the illustrious parties.

The Princess Charlotte had now attained the age when her formal presentation at court was determined upon, and his majesty's birth-day, which was celebrated with uncommon splendour on the 18th January, 1813, was the day appointed for the ceremony. A singular circumstance however, not common in the annals of a court, took place on this occasion, and which shewed the warm and affectionate attachment which the Princess Charlotte entertained for her unfortunate mother. It was privately agreed between them, that the Princess Charlotte should be presented by her mother; but on the other hand it was arranged, that the presentation should be made by either the Duchess of York, or one of the female branches of the royal family.

The expectation of the presentation of the Princess Charlotte crowded the drawing-room beyond any former parallel. The Princess of Wales was in readiness to present her daughter; the Princess Charlotte was in a room contiguous to the drawing-room, awaiting the arrival of her mother to conduct her into the presence of the Queen, when she was informed that her presentation by her mother would not be allowed; "Either my mother or no one," was the spirited reply of the Princess Charlotte. Every means was tried to induce her to alter her determination; she was firm in her resolution, and as the opposite party was firm also, the presentation did not take place.

The Prince Regent was present to witness the presentation of his daughter, and on passing the Princess of Wales, a slight acknowledgement only passed between them.

This, however, was but the prelude to more serious and important matters. The interest which the publication of the letter of the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent had excited, gained daily additional strength; and on the 24th February, 1813, the first notice of the affairs of her royal highness was taken in the House of Commons by the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone, who rose and said that he intended to submit a motion to the house on the following Monday, relative to the proceedings ordered by his majesty to be instituted on the subject of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The honourable member was about to offer some remarks upon the importance of this matter, which he said affected even the succession to the throne itself, when the Speaker interrupted him by stating, that it was not usual to enter into any discussion, in giving a notice, which could possibly create a debate. The honourable member then concluded by observing that he had thought it his duty, and had accordingly done so, to transmit a copy of the proposition he intended to move to ministers, that they might be fully possessed of the line he meant to pursue.

Thus the storm, which had yet been only heard at a distance, now threatened to break with

accumulated force over the heads of the devoted parties. On the 2d March, immediately upon the meeting of the house, the Speaker rose, and stated, that he felt it to be his duty to inform the house, that he had received yesterday, while seated in the chair of that house, a letter, purporting to come from her royal highness the Princess of Wales, and which it was expressed to be her wish should be communicated to the house. The letter, however, being without date, and having been delivered to one of the messengers at the door of the house, the speaker did not think that it came to his hands in such an authenticated form as warranted him in laying it before the house. This day he had felt it incumbent on him to ascertain whether the letter was authentic or not; and from these inquiries, and from a letter which he had this day received from her royal highness the Princess of Wales, acknowledging that the letter of yesterday came from her, and inclosing a duplicate of it, he had now no longer any reason to doubt the letter's being authentic. With the permission of the house, therefore, he should, if it was their pleasure, read the letter he had received this day, with the duplicate of the letter of yesterday inclosed in it.

The letter and its inclosure were then read, as follows:

Montague-house, Blackheath, March 2, 1813.

The Princess of Wales by her own desire, as well as by the advice of her counsel, did yesterday transmit to

Mr. Speaker a letter, which she was anxious should be read without delay to the House of Commons, and the princess requests that the said letter may be read this very day to the House of Commons. The princess incloses Mr. Speaker a duplicate of the letter alluded to.

Montague-house, Blackheath, March 1, 1813.

The Princess of Wales informs Mr. Speaker, that she nas received from Lord Viscount Sidmouth a copy of a report made to his royal highness the Prince Regent, by a certain number of the members of the privy-council, to whom it appears, his royal highness had been advised to refer the consideration of the documents and other evidence respecting her character aud conduct.

The report is of such a nature, that her royal highness is well persuaded that no person can read it without considering that it conveys most unjust aspersions against her, and although their eagerness renders it impossible to discover precisely what is meant, or even what she has been charged with, yet, as the Princess of Wales is conscious of no offence whatever, she thinks it due to herself, and to the illustrious house with which she is connected by blood and marriage, and to the people among whom she holds so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a moment in any imputation affecting her honour.

The Princess of Wales has not been permitted to know upon what evidence the members of the privy-council proceeded, still less to be heard in her own defence. She knew only by common rumour of the inquiries which had been carried on, until the result was communicated to her, and she has now no means of knowing whether the members of the privy-council, appointed to determine on her case, acted as a body, to whom she can appeal for redress, or only in their individual capacity, as persons selected to make a report on her conduct.

The princess is compelled, therefore, to throw herself upon the house, and upon the justice of parliament, and to require that the fullest investigation may be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country.

The Princess of Wales fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she is tried by impartial judges, known to the constitution, and in the open manner the law of the land requires. Her only desire is, that she may be either declared to be innocent, or proved to be guilty.

The princess desires Mr. Speaker to communicate this letter to the House of Commons.

After a short pause, without any inclination being evinced on the part of any other member to address the house,

Mr. Whitbread rose and said, that feeling as he did, and as the house must feel, the importance of the question involved in the letters which had just been read to them, he could not suffer those letters to pass with no other notice taken of them than that of their being merely read from the chair; and the more especially as he saw opposite to him a noble lord who held a seat in his majesty's councils during the period, if newspaper report spoke true, in which the investigation alluded to in the letter last read, took place. He had observed the noble lord quit his place, and take it again, during the reading of the letters, but without shewing an inclination to address the house on the subject of their contents. Conceiving, as he did, the subject to be one not only of great delicacy, but also of great importance,

his object in now rising was, to put a question to the noble lord. Did he, or did he not, mean to submit any motion on the subject of these letters to the house?

Lord Castlereagh said, no man could be more sensible than he was of the delicacy and importance of the subject alluded to in the letters which had just been read to the house; but when he considered that a motion connected with the same subject (the motion of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone) stood on the order book of the house for consideration on a day at no greater distance than the day after to-morrow, he did not feel it to be his duty to anticipate the question. When the motion alluded to came before them, he should feel himself obliged, however delicate the subject was, to give all the explanations the case might require.

As Mr. C. Johnstone was about bringing forward his promised motion, with respect to her royal highness the Princess of Wales, the honourable Mr. Lygon rose and said, "that the nature of the subject to be discussed was such, as to induce him to move the standing order for the exclusion of strangers." The gallery was accordingly cleared; but the following is an account of what passed after the exclusion of the reporters.

When Mr. C. Johnstone rose to make his promised motion, the honourable Mr. Lygon, member for Worcestershire, moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers; on which Mr. Bennett rose, and moved that the house do now adjourn.

The Earl of Yarmouth seconded the motion. On this question the house divided: when there appeared

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On returning to the house, Mr. Johnstone said that as Mr. Lygon had exercised his discretion in moving the exclusion of strangers, he (Mr. Johnstone) would exercise his by bringing forward his motion only when he should himself choose to do so, and the honourable gentleman then walked out of the house; but on the discussions proceeding further, he returned. In reply to this, Captain Vyse, member for Beverley, said, that as it was clear from what Mr. Johnstone had said, that he only put off his motion because the gallery was cleared, and that he did not intend to make it till he should have an audience; he thought it fair to apprise the honourable member, that he thought it highly inexpedient that the debate on this question should be made more public than was absolutely necessary, and that he should therefore feel it his duty, whenever the motion was brought forward, to move the exclusion of strangers. Upon which Mr. Bennett, member for Shrewsbury, rose and said, that as Captain Vyse had promised to exercise his right of clearing the gallery, he (Mr. Bennett) would now employ his, and would move that the house do adjourn, Mr. Whitbread then

asked Lord Castlereagh whether he did not intend to take some measure on the Princess of Wales's letters; to which Lord Castlereagh replied nearly as he had done to a similar question the day before.

Mr. Whitbread read from a newspaper what purported to be the report, which, he said, no one could read without agreeing with her royal highness, that it contained aspersions against her character, and that it was the duty of the ministers of the crown not to let a question that involved even the right of succession, lie like waste paper on the table of the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had no motion to make on that paper, he had no share in laying it on the table, and was in no degree responsible for its contents; but if any other member should think it of so much importance as to move upon it, he should be ready, as far as was consistent with his public duty, to state and vindicate the view that the privy-council had taken of the case referred to it by the crown, That with refereuce to the report from a newspaper read by Mr. Whitbread, the house, he was sure would feel that he was not called upon to make any reply to a statement in that shape; but thus much he would say, that the newspaper report, even if accurate, did not bear out the construction of criminality which Mr. Whitbread gave it; for that report talked only of restraining and regulating the intercourse between the mother and the daughter;

whereas it was obvious that, if it had inferred criminality, it should have recommended, not the regulation only of the intercourse, but its total suspension.

Mr. Whitbread then said, the public were ignorant of all the circumstances which had induced the council to make such a report. Was the report of 1806 referred to, to refresh the memory of those who were in the old cabinet, or that of 1807, to give information to the present ministers? It should be remembered her royal highness had no privy-council, no members of parliament to command. But if no other member would submit a motion to the house on her petition, he would do so, though this was peculiarly the duty of the noble lord. It was sufficient for a member of parliament, in his common capacity, to say he would wait and give his opinion; but such was not the duty of the noble lord, as a minister of the crown in this house, in such a case.

Mr. Bennett withdrew his motion, and *Mr. Johnstone* was requested to proceed on his motion: but he deferred it till the next day, when

He rose, and said, that it was the undoubted right of the honourable member (Mr. Lygon) to act as he had done, in clearing the house of strangers: if, however, this precaution had been taken under the impression that any thing he had to say should be unbecoming the respect he owed to that house, or inconsistent with what was due to the feelings of every branch of the royal family,

such apprehensions were utterly unfounded. He thought it a duty he owed, in the first instance, to the Princess of Wales, to declare, that for the motion he was about to submit he had no authority from her; that he had no communication with any person or persons whatever, and that the proceeding originated entirely and exclusively with himself. The honourable member proceeded to observe, that it was well known that a commission had been granted by the king in 1806, to four noble lords, Grenville, Spencer, Erskine, and Ellenborough, to examine into certain allegations that had been preferred against the Princess of Wales. He then read the whole of the report made by the commissioners above stated, containing the most unqualified opinion, that the charge produced by Sir John and Lady Douglas against the Princess of Wales, of having been delivered of a child in the year 1802, was utterly destitute of truth. It added, that the birth and real mother of the child said to have been born of the princess, had been proved beyond all possibility of doubt. The report concluded with some objections made by the commissioners to the manners, or to the levity of manners, upon different occasions, in the princess. The honourable member next proceeded to state, that the paper he should now read was a document which, he was ready to prove at the bar of the house, was dictated by Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, though signed by the Prin-

cess of Wales: it was a letter written, or purporting to be written, by her royal highness to the king, on the 9th of October, 1806, as a protest against the report of the commissioners, just detailed. The letter, being read at length, appeared to be a formal and elaborate criticism upon the nature of the commission under which her conduct had been reviewed: it asserted in the most unqualified terms her own innocence, and called the charges of her accusers a foul and false conspiracy, made *ex parte*, and affording no appeal. Upon this letter being read, the honourable member observed, that he fully concurred in the sentiments it expressed upon the subject of the commission, and he insisted that the charge against the princess before that tribunal, by Sir John and Lady Douglas, was nothing short of treason; that, if the commissioners had power to acquit her royal highness of the crime charged, they had equally the power to convict her. What was the state of that country in which such a thing was even possible? besides, he inquired, what became of Sir John and Lady Douglas? If he were rightly informed, they still persisted in the same story. If all they maintained were so notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted? The honourable member went on to remark, that he understood no proceedings of the late privy-council, except the report, had been transmitted to the Princess of Wales. This was the case in 1806; but he submitted that copies of all those examinations

should be given to her. The honourable member then concluded by moving two resolutions to the following purport :

" 1. Resolved—that it has been stated to this house, by a member thereof, who has offered to prove the same by witnesses at the bar of this house, that in the year 1806 a commission was signed under his majesty's royal sign manual, authorizing and directing the then lord-chancellor, Erskine, Earl Spencer, the then secretary of state for the home department, Lord Grenville, the then first lord of the treasury, and the then and present lord chief-justice Ellenborough, to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, communicated to his majesty by his royal highness the Prince of Wales, touching the conduct of her royal highness the Princess of Wales. That the said commissioners, in pursuance of the said authority and direction, did enter into an examination of several witnesses ; and that they delivered to his majesty a report of such examination, and also of their judgment on the several parts alleged against her royal highness ; which report, signed by the four commissioners aforesaid, and dated on the 14th of July 1806, was accompanied with copies of the declarations, examinations, depositions, and other documents on which it was founded. That it has been stated to this house, in manner aforesaid, that the said written accusations against her royal highness expressly asserted, ' That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802,

in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.' That the report further stated, that the commissioners 'first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both particularly swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the other to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and before referred to;' and that repo added, 'that the examinations are annexed to the report, and are circumstantial and positive.' That the commissioners stated, as the result of their examination, 'their perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year;' and that the commissioners added, 'Tha this was their clear and unanimous judgment, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.' That therefore the honour of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, the sacred right of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country, do all unite in most imperious call on this house, to institute now, while the witnesses on both sides

are still living, and while all the charges are capable of being clearly established or clearly disproved, an ample and impartial investigation of all the allegations, facts, and circumstances appertaining to this most important subject of inquiry.

"2. Resolved—That an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, requesting that his royal highness will be graciously pleased to order that a copy of a report, made to his majesty on the 14th day of July, 1806, by the then lord chancellor, Erskine, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Lord Chief-justice Ellenborough, touching the conduct of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the house, together with the copies of certain written documents annexed to the said report."

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion, and began by observing upon the singular line of conduct adopted by the honourable mover, in first calling upon the house to agree with him in all the facts stated in his first resolution, and then asking for information on the same subject in his second motion: at all events, the information ought to have preceded the conclusions from it. His lordship could not conceive, from any reasons that had been given by the honourable member, that the house would entertain any serious doubt that the papers called for by the honourable mover were not at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne of these king-

doms. The commissioners of 1806 had not been commissioners for the trial of the princess, but as privy-counsellors, commissioners of inquiry; and the appointment of such privy-counsellors for such purposes was the constant practice in all periods of the history of this country. If, however, the honourable mover was serious in his opinion that the commission of 1806 was an improper tribunal to have reviewed the conduct of the Princess of Wales, did he think the House of Commons a proper place to try either the Princess of Wales for treason, or to sit in judgment on the levity of her manners? It was rather extraordinary in the honourable member to call upon the House of Commons to clear up the doubts on a subject, when he had expressed no doubts of his own. The two learned judges who were part of the commission, Lords Erskine and Ellenborough, had entertained no doubts: they, with their skill and legal habits, had been able to trace the whole transaction to its source: it was not a judgment upon credibility of witnesses only, not upon the inconsistency alone of Lady Douglas's testimony, but the real mother of this child. Ann Austin was adduced, and its birth, with every circumstance attending it, had been clearly proved to the commission. This report, too, of the commissioners, with all the evidence on which it was founded, had been referred to his majesty's then ministers; and they, upon oath, had unanimously confirmed that report. This was not all—the

same report and evidence had been referred to the subsequent administration; and they in like manner, on their oaths, had unanimously declared the innocence of her royal highness. His lordship did not mean to say, that if any great doubt could be entertained by his majesty's subjects on this important and delicate question, some declaration from parliament, as to the succession, might not become necessary; but when such doubts have been so repeatedly negatived, would it not, he asked, be giving a sort of weight and authority to the evidence of Lady Douglas? If the affidavits of profligate persons were thus to be sanctioned, where would be the end of such attempts? Fortunately there never was a case that could excite so little hesitation. A more monstrous proposition, than to legislate on Lady Douglas's evidence, was never heard. The honourable mover had complained that no proceedings had been instituted against Sir John and Lady Douglas. His lordship had to state that the first cabinet distinctly recommended a reference to the then law officers of the crown to consider of such a prosecution; and if it had not been instituted, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of those law officers as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the degraded and guilty heads of Sir John and Lady Douglas, but it was from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. The noble lord added, that he did not wish to push the sub-

ject further; he was treading on delicate ground. He thought the only effect of the present motion would be, to make the House of Commons a channel for poisoning the public mind. Upon the subject of the late letter the noble lord declined saying any thing at present, that not being before the house.

Sir S. Romilly commenced by observing, that the honourable member (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone) had indulged himself in such strong terms of censure of the administration of 1806, as to render it impossible for him to preserve silence. No impartial man who knew under what circumstances that inquiry originated, or in what manner it was conducted, would think that any blame was imputable to the persons concerned in it. Some time in the latter end of 1805, he received the commands of the Prince of Wales to attend him at Carlton-house: he accordingly waited on his royal highness, when the prince was pleased to tell him that he wished to consult him on a matter of the utmost importance to himself, to his family, and to the state; that it was at Lord Thurlow's recommendation he had sent for him; and that he had selected him because he was unconnected with himself, and unconnected with politics. His royal highness then stated information he had received on the conduct of the princess, and said that it should be put down in writing, and submitted to him for his advice. After having considered it with the utmost care

and anxiety, he addressed a letter to his royal highness, containing his sentiments on the matter, in December 1805. After he gave that opinion, his royal highness took every possible means to ascertain what credit was due to the parties whose testimony had been given. In the change of administration which shortly followed, he had the honour of being appointed Solicitor-general; and in March 1806 he received his majesty's commands to confer with Lord Thurlow on this important business. Lord Thurlow desired him to tell the Prince of Wales, that the information was of a nature much too important for his royal highness not to take some steps in consequence of it. This he communicated to the Prince of Wales, and in a short time afterwards the facts, as stated, were submitted to some of the king's ministers. An authority was then issued under the king's sign manual to certain members of the privy-council, to take up the investigation of the whole of the case. Many meetings were held, and many witnesses were examined thereupon: and he (Sir S. Romilly) was the only other person present, besides the commissioners, at these examinations, which were conducted by the four noble lords mentioned, and he took down all the depositions. He believed that he was selected for this purpose in preference to the Attorney-general, merely because it was thought, that if it should not be necessary to institute any judicial or legislative proceedings upon it, it was

in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.' That the report further stated, that the commissioners 'first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both particularly swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the other to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and before referred to;' and that repo added, 'that the examinations are annexed to the report, and are circumstantial and positive.' That the commissioners stated, as the result of their examination, 'their perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year;' and that the commissioners added, 'Tha this was their clear and unanimous judgment, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.' That therefore the honour of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, the sacred right of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country, do all unite in most imperious call on this house, to institute now, while the witnesses on both sides

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prince's legal advisers, Mr. Adam, Mr. Garrow, and Mr. Jekyll? I should be glad to know how the last insidious paragraph of that opinion came before the public? whether it was not so made public from authority? Again; had not the cabinet of 1807 all the evidence given in 1806 before it, and the legal opinion of the prince's lawyers I just referred to into the bargain, when their verdict of unqualified acquittal was given? From this verdict they now seem to shrink, because the evidence is stale and forgotten." Mr. Whitbread then read the minute of council of 1807; it was signed by Lords Castlereagh and Eldon, and doubted the legality of the commission that sat upon the council in 1806—Yet (added Mr. Whitbread) these noble lords, who in 1807 doubt the legality of the proceedings of 1806, now go back to those same proceedings of 1806 as their only guide. He then read that part of the minute of 1807, that not only entirely acquits the Princess of Wales of every charge of criminality brought against her by the Douglases, but exculpates her likewise from every hint of unguarded levity attributed to her by the commissioners in 1806. "Do then," said Mr. Whitbread, "do Lord Castlereagh or Lord Eldon mean to escape from their words? There never was a verdict of Not Guilty like this. Is it to be permitted to go back to evidence given before this sentence of acquittal, and pronounce a new verdict of Guilty? Was ever woman so triumphant?

Let the public recollect that no one act has passed since 1807, that the active breath of slander has dared to bring against the Princess of Wales. The honourable member then read the late report, and proceeded to observe that the noble lord had tauntingly asserted that the Princess of Wales had, doubtless, some legal adviser, or some friends within those walls, who would be found to advocate her cause. It had been so. She had a powerful legal adviser in that house in the late Mr. Perceval. Many too of the most able men in the country, in the house and out of it had been her friends and advisers; among them he could name Lord Eldon, Sir T. Plomer, and Sir William Scott. It was due to the memory of Mr. Perceval, to state, that to his dying day he always publicly proclaimed the innocence of the princess; but as for her other surviving friends, they were mute. No doubt the princess had her legal adviser, and who would never shrink from the responsibility of the duties of his situation, or disown his being such adviser, to him who had any right to question him: for himself, in performing what he did, he would not call himself the friend of the Princess of Wales, but the friend of justice. Was her royal highness at least not entitled to the common courtesy belonging to her sex? Had she attempted more than had been done in the brutal reign of Henry VIII. by the unfortunate Ann Bullen, who asked to be declared innocent, or proved to be guilty? Mr. Whitbread concluded

a most animated speech amidst shouts of applause, and moved an amendment for the production of the report recently made by the individuals selected from the privy-council.

Lord Castlereagh said, he would come at once to the letter of her royal highness: and if he spoke of it with plainness, it would be as the letter of her legal advisers. Well would it have been for her, if she now had such advisers as she formerly had. In respect to the complaint that was made of the prince having refused to read her letter, it was not for the house to judge of the merits of the parties under the long and settled separation which existed. This was a matter of private arrangement, and long ago the prince had determined that no correspondence should take place; and he could acquaint the house that this was not the first letter which had been sent back. But this complaint was founded on a supposition that some punishment had been inflicted on the princess by the restraints that were placed on the intercourse between her and her daughter. He would state to the house how the case was, and then it would see that no such punishment was intended. When the Princess Charlotte went to Windsor, the prince altered the arrangement under which the princess had been accustomed to see her, from once a week to once a fortnight, that less interruption of her studies might happen by frequent journeys to London, and it was not intended to require the alteration

to continue longer than during the princess's residence at Windsor. This was the whole of what was magnified into a great infliction of punishment and inference of guilt, and he was sure the house would see it, as he did, to be a matter in no ways sufficient to justify the letter of her royal highness. In respect to the conduct of the prince, he did all that lay in his power to secure sound advice. He called in all the heads of the law and the church, to advise merely to one point, what restraints should be placed on the intercourse between the princess and her daughter. There never was a stronger imputation cast on any one than was cast on the prince by the legal advisers of the letter of the princess—it was an appeal to the country against their prince, and an appeal to the child against her parent. But of all the paragraphs of the letter, that which relates to the canting paragraph about the confirmation, is the most reprehensible; for, if her royal highness had ever spoken to the bishop of Salisbury, the tutor of the princess, on the subject, with a wish on her part to have the ceremony performed, he could have told her that it was his majesty's express wish it should not take place till the princess had attained her eighteenth year The country, he was sure, would feel the prince had discharged his duty; and that his consulta tion with the council on the education of his child was a proof of his love of his people, by referring for advice to his council; and that he had shown

an anxious desire to exercise the prerogative of educating his daughter, with a just sense of its great importance.

Sir Thomas Plomer spoke on the same side.

Mr. Wortley said, he felt very warmly on this occasion, as a man of honour and a gentleman, but he could not vote either for the original motion or the amendment. He must at the same time say, it was not the speech of the noble lord that induced him to come to this determination, for he had left the points which are the most material in the discussion without any answer. He considered this a most galling and disgraceful subject, no less than dragging the royal family before the house. The true question was, whether ministers had done their duty, first to their king, and secondly to their country? In his opinion the four commissioners appointed in 1806 had gone further than they were required to do. The commission were to examine into a charge of one kind only: but from the evidence brought to support this, they formed another, and thus exceeded their jurisdiction. If their report was only to go to the king, this circumstance would not have been material; but as it was to go to the princess, it was sure to be productive of difficulties, such as no woman could submit, without complaint, to the imputations that were cast upon her. But passing by this report, the next to be considered is that of 1807, which is a complete acquittal as to every point. This the noble lord has not

denied in his speech; but the ministers of that day not only acquitted her royal highness, but went further, and advised his majesty to receive the princess at court. With such a report in existence, why was it necessary now to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to rake together the documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to govern the intercourse between the princess and her daughter? documents, in crushing which, the noble lord had formerly been a party. If, instead of such an unjustifiable proceeding, his royal highness the Prince Regent had been advised to say, I am the father of the child, and I will act as a father is empowered to do—I am prince of these realms, and I will exercise my prerogative of educating the successor to the throne—the country would have been satisfied, in his opinion, as he did not conceive the princess was so popular as to fear that such advice would not have been universally approved of. The honourable member said, he had as high feelings for royalty as any man; but he must say, all proceedings like these contribute to pull it down. He was very sorry we had a family who do not take warning from what is said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct will bear him harmless through all these transactions.

He said this with no disrespect to him, or his family: no man was more attached to the house of Brunswick than he was; but if he had a sister in the same situation, he would say she was exceedingly ill treated.

Mr. W. Smith fully participated in what fell from the honourable member who spoke last: if his sister had been treated as the princess had been, he should feel extremely sore. He regretted he could not see his way clear how justice could be done to the princess, and therefore he wished his honourable friend would explain what further proceedings he had in contemplation.

Mr. Ponsonby could not agree to the motion of his honourable friend; yet he was almost inclined so to do, from the admirable, incomparable, resistless eloquence with which he urged it. He would ask, Is it competent for this house to grant the prayer of the princess's letter? The report of 1806 ought not to be laid before the house. Is there any thing in it that ought to be submitted to their consideration? Suppose the report on the table, what could they do with it? Could they address the regent for a trial? could they condemn? could they acquit? This is truly an attack on the government; and the defence of the noble lord worthy of the newspapers' which advocate his cause. He denied that any person in opposition had any connection with the publication of the papers, or with any part of the transaction; he disclaimed all knowledge of all pro-

ceedings therein, and he should despise any one who could make the royal quarrels a source to prove a stepping-stone to office: he had never so done; and he wished he could say as much for the living and the dead, and that all could lay their hands on their hearts and say the same. He despised such base and despicable conduct from the bottom of his soul.

Mr. Whitbread said, provided he should succeed in his motion of to-night, and obtain the report alluded to in the letter of the Princess of Wales to the Speaker, it certainly was his intention, in the event of success to his first motion, to have followed it up by motions for such papers as might appear necessary for the further elucidation of the business, and for the justification or conviction of the person who had thrown herself, as a last resource, upon the justice and mercy of the house. But the few hours which had passed since he moved his amendment, had so entirely altered the state of the case, that he should not now even press a division. The most complete defiance on the part of the Princess of Wales had been thrown out, in the presence of those persons who had the fullest opportunity of inquiry, and whose duty it was to inquire into every part of her conduct—who have the means of searching her very heart. So completely did she now appear acquitted of all possible imputation of blame, even by the persons from whom the aspersions were, by the world, supposed, in the last report, to have been thrown

upon her, that it was in his mind unnecessary to press the matter to a division. Her innocence was acknowledged entire—complete. To such restrictions as the Prince Regent, in his capacity of father to the Princess Charlotte, or by the advice of his ministers, might think proper to impose upon her intercourse with her daughter, she must submit. It was her lot. But she had the satisfaction of knowing that her reputation henceforward was, by the confession of all, without imputation or reproach. From these considerations, he should not press a division.

Mr. Canning could not sufficiently praise the honest and manly warmth shewn by Mr. Whitbread: but all motions similar to the present he should resist. He never would consent to support that which, however plausible at the moment, would endanger the permanent interests of the country. Besides, the necessity of such motions is lessened, if the object be to declare the entire acquittal of the princess; because, from the tone of the noble lord, as well as his repeated declarations of her innocence, further proceedings are unnecessary. He was prepared to assert and maintain, that the words and meaning of the cabinet report in 1807 conveyed a complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal. He would not have supported the late minute of the council, had he been in the cabinet: he should have been content to say that his royal highness was the master of his own family; as father and sovereign, he

had a right to direct and control the conduct of his daughter, and to regulate whom she should see, and whom she should not see. The minute, he was glad to hear owned, left acquitted innocence as it was before the council made their report. It is hard to stop these discussions here; but it is better they should be so done, than left where it would be difficult to control their circulation. He entirely disapproved of the original publication of the letter, as the cause of all the mischief. He would not have raised the flame by calling in the aid of other persons to assist the cabinet, which has given to the proceeding a character of uneasiness and anxiety that has been very injurious.

Sir W. Garrow maintained, that the Prince Regent was placed, by the appearance of the letter in print, in a situation that forced him to take the opinion of grave and honourable persons as to the line he was to take upon this subject. He denied being a party to the publication of the extract which appeared in a newspaper some days back. What took place was this: he and Mr. Adam and Mr. Jekyll were not called to revise the proceedings of the council in 1806, but they were commanded by the prince to give their opinions upon questions proposed to them. They met at his house, locked up all the papers while the subject was in discussion; they destroyed all the copies but one, and he had not seen the papers since, till he was shewn the extract that

was printed in one of the newspapers the other day.

Mr. Yorke requested Mr. C. Johnstone to withdraw his motion. Mr. C. Johnstone refused to do so; adding, that it was a proud day for him, because it had completely established the innocence of her royal highness the Princess of Wales.

The question was put, and Mr. C. Johnstone's motion was negatived without a division.

Whilst the cause of the princess was thus ably and manfully espoused in the House of Commons, her application to the Lord-Chancellor respecting her restricted intercourse with her daughter met with a very different reception. His lordship returned the letter with one from himself to the following effect:—"That his lordship found himself under the necessity of returning the letter of her royal highness, which he thought it his duty to advise the princess, from considerations of propriety as *well as safety*, not to make public. The letter concluded with an intimation, that by command of the Prince Regent, *the visits of her royal highness to Warwick-house were in future to be discontinued.*"

To the above an answer was returned by the Princess of Wales, expressing her surprise at the manner, as well as the matter of his lordship's communication, and particularly at his care for the safety of her royal highness; but intimating,

at the same time, that his lordship need be under no apprehension on that ground, as the constitution and laws of England were her safeguard.

Thus was every immediate prospect cut off of a more unrestricted intercourse taking place between the Princess of Wales and her daughter; and it is not, therefore, surprising that every opportunity should be gladly seized on, by which they could interchange the expressions of their mutual affection. A few days after the Princess of Wales had received the intimation from the Lord-Chancellor, that her visits must be discontinued at Warwick-house, she was returning in her carriage down Constitution-hill, when her royal highness observed the Princess Charlotte in her carriage, passing along Piccadilly towards Hyde-park. The Princess of Wales immediately ordered her coachman to turn about, and, the horses proceeding nearly at a gallop, overtook the Princess Charlotte's carriage in Hyde-park, near the bridge. Their royal highnesses projected themselves through the windows of their carriages, embracing each other in the most affectionate manner, and continued in earnest conversation for about ten minutes. A considerable number of spectators were very soon collected to the spot, and several ladies who were present shed tears at the affecting nature of the interview. When their royal highnesses had separated, the Princess Charlotte was observed, in continuing her ride, to be in high spirits, and ap-

parently highly gratified at the opportunity she had enjoyed of an affectionate interchange of endearments with her royal mother.

From the proceedings in the House of Commons a perfect acquittal of her royal highness may be inferred. No actual criminality was or could be imputed to her royal highness; no case whatever was made out; no matter existed against her royal highness to become the subject of inquiry, and therefore further inquiry was for the time accounted superfluous.

Notwithstanding this decision, on the 15th of March, Mr. Whitbread gave notice, in the House of Commons, of his intention to move on the 17th of that month, for an address to the Prince Regent, praying his royal highness to order a prosecution to be instituted against Lady Douglas for the evidence given by her ladyship respecting the Princess of Wales.

On the meeting of the house on the 17th, after the transaction of some routine business, Mr. Whitbread presented the following petition from Sir John Douglas:

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, &c.

The humble petition of Major-general Sir John Douglas, on behalf of himself and Charlotte Lady Douglas his wife—

Sheweth—That your petitioners are advised that the depositions they made on their oaths, before the Lords Commissioners appointed by his majesty for investigating the conduct of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, on or

about the 1st of January, 1806, were not made on such judicial proceedings, or before such a tribunal as could legally support a prosecution for perjury against them.

Feeling the fullest confidence in those depositions, and in the justice of their cause, they are ready and desirous, and hereby offer to re-swear to the truth of such depositions before any tribunal competent to administer an oath, that your petitioners may be subjected to the penalty of perjury if it be proved that they are false.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that your honourable house will adopt such proceedings as in your wisdom may be thought proper, to re-swear them to their depositions before such a tribunal as would legally subject them to a prosecution for such depositions, should they be proved to be false: it being their anxious desire not to deliver themselves through any want of legal forms.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

The petition being read by the clerk, *Mr. Whitbread* delivered the following manly and energetic speech. He expressed his indignation at the obscene and disgusting depositions of Lady Douglas and others, that appeared to have been published by authority, though they had been repeatedly declared to be unworthy of credit; and observed, that he had heard that another inquiry was going on under the Lord-chancellor, Mr. Conant the magistrate, and others, without the knowledge of the other ministers, though it was a matter of state. He then read a deposition of Mrs. Lisle, which had been put into his hands, and which explained, that the princess, being taken ill in the night, got up to procure a light

wanted a candle. How then could this deposition be admitted as evidence of guilt in the princess, when the answers of Mrs. Lisle were more calculated to shew her innocence? The princess had been for eleven years, and still continues, under persecution; and yet, after all, nothing has been fairly proved against her, though a great portion of the talent of the country had been employed against her. Why were fresh examinations instituted last autumn? Why, at the time that the Princess of Wales had corresponded with the queen about the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte, was no intimation given to her of the king's injunction on the subject? Why was no restraint laid on her intercouse with her daughter in 1806, while the examinations against her were going on? She had not now, as formerly, the happiness of having Lord Eldon for her adviser: no, of late he had preferred the duty of being the bearer of stern messages, rather than the office of intercession and consolation. She had acted very properly, in his opinion, of late; for, as soon as the restricted terms of intercourse were communicated to her, she immediately remonstrated; and though her letter to the prince had been blamed by many, he could not but say, upon a comparison of them, that it was infinitely more becoming and respectful than those she sent by the advice of Mr. Perceval in 1807 to the king; and though he would not have advised her to send the letter, he saw nothing improper in her letter

to the prince. Even from the confession of her opponents, it was not the prayer, or the contents, but the publication of that letter that was blamed. In speaking of the Princess of Wales, he asked, Should she leave the country? Was it for innocence to fly? She of all persons in the world, in the exalted rank in which she had been placed, was the most unprotected. Let the house look to the circumstances which had brought on those accusations; how she had been elevated to her high rank; and how, because she was not agreeable to the taste of her husband, she had since been brought down! Compare her case with that of Caroline Matilda of Denmark, who, in consequence of a political struggle in that country, being involved in suspicion, was ordered to be confined in prison, where she died of grief. She was described by the historian as suffering in consequence of her being far removed from the equitable tribunals of this country. In Denmark she could not receive that justice which she was certain of experiencing had she been so fortunate as to be subject to the mild and equitable laws of England. Caroline Matilda, an English princess, could not have justice in Denmark: but the case of the Princess of Wales was different—she was in England, and she might therefore expect to have her conduct judged of by the laws of England. She was suspected, and she asked to be brought and to have her conduct investigated, before an English tribunal. An English princess could not

obtain English justice in Denmark; but she, a a German princess, asked with confidence for English justice in England. She, the neice of this very Caroline Matilda, asked that justice in England, which had been denied to her aunt in Denmark. Caroline Matilda endeavoured to escape from her persecutors: the first person she met with was her chief enemy: him she could not meet, and she returned to her room. Again she made an attempt, and though met by a file of men with fixed bayonets, persevered: but her husband being removed, she was secured and conveyed to the castle of Cronsberg. Every endeavour was made on the part of her brother-in-law, the father of this very Princess of Wales, to rescue her: but she, being removed from her children, died broken-hearted at the early age of twenty-four. The evidence against her, as historians stated, far from warranting a legal conclusion of her guilt, did not amount even to presumptive proof of it. On what, in the present instance, did the Princess of Wales stand?—She stood on this—Lord Eldon, as a lawyer, said, the greater part of the evidence was satisfactorily disproved, and as for the remainder, he (Mr. Whitbread) and all men utterly discredited it. The Princess of Wales had the consolation of thinking that she was surrounded by ladies of the first rank in the kingdom, who would not from regard to their own character, have remained about her person were they not satisfied of her innocence. If she wished to quit

this country, she had now no father to go to; nor had she even her father's country to afford her an asylum. He who would have afforded protection to Caroline Matilda, was not now in existence to protect his own daughter. He had forfeited his life in the battle of Jena, having died in consequence of a wound which he there received. The princess, however, had the satisfaction of knowing, that he lived to be informed of her acquittal, and died in the persuasion of her entire innocence. What protection then had the Princess of Wales? She had not that of her husband and of the law. Her father, who had endeavoured to protect Caroline Matilda, was no more. Her husband had withdrawn from her royal highness his protection: and was that house to withhold from her its protection also? She had, indeed, her noble mother here—the sister of Caroline Matilda; she had her own bosom to retire to. She had also her gallant brother, though he had not now the same means of affording her protection as formerly. She therefore, or rather he (Mr. Whitbread) in her name, called on that house—the representatives of the people of England—to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger—the mother of their future queen. He wished most sincerely that "The Book," now laying on the table of the house, before him, had never been printed; he wished that the threatening letter to his majesty in the year 1807, threatening that *The Book* should be

published on the following Monday, had never been written. He did not ask of the house to approve of any subsequent letter which had since been published: he only asked of them to compare that letter with the threatening letter dictated by Mr. Perceval. He should not, however, read the two. He would not do it, on account of Mr. Perceval, who was now no more. He did not wish to execute justice on him, but he would on Lord Eldon, if he could, because on him he thought justice should be done. He would read the two letters, for the sake of executing justice on the one, were it not that he might thereby seem to be doing an act of injustice to the memory of the other. One word more, and then he had done. It was never too late to conciliate; and if even now matters could be brought to that crisis he was certain the nation would esteem it the greatest boon that could be conferred on the country. He concluded by putting in two papers of the *Morning Herald*, the parts of which alluded to were entered as read, and then moved a humble address to the Prince Regent, expressive of the deep concern and indignation which the house felt at publications of so gross and scandalous a nature, so painful to the feelings of his royal highness and all the other branches of his illustrious family; and praying that his royal highness would be pleased to order proper measures to be taken for bringing to justice all the persons concerned in so scandalous a business; and particularly for

preventing the continuance or repetition of so high an offence.

The question being put,

Lord Castlereagh said, he hoped the main attention of the house would be directed to the practicable purposes which could be expected from the motion with which the honourable gentleman had concluded. Was it conciliation which the honourable gentleman had in view? In what respect was his motion, far less the speech with which he had prefaced it, calculated to produce conciliation? The papers of the next day after the letter first published had made its appearance, instead of shewing any abstinence from further discussion on the subject, contained two letters of his majesty himself. He agreed that the monarchy itself was concerned in the course now to be pursued, and that it was never more concerned in any thing than in the measure now to be taken by parliament. Much injury, in his opinion, was to be apprehended from such speeches as that which they had heard to-night from the honourable gentleman. He did not wish to interrupt the honourable gentleman, though he must be allowed to say, that it appeared to him that the honourable gentleman, under the pretext of vindicating the Princess of Wales, had indulged in illiberal, unfair, and as he (Lord Castlereagh) thought, unparliamentary observations on the conduct of the Prince of Wales himself.

Mr. Whitbread moved that the words of the

noble lord be taken down. If he himself had followed the course ascribed to him by the noble lord, it would have been his lordship's duty to have moved that he (Mr. Whitbread) be committed to the Tower.

The Speaker said, the rule in such cases was to have the expression taken down, as stated by the person objecting to it to have been used, and then to let the party charged with using it, either admit or deny his having used the words objected to.

Mr. Whitbread dictated the words used by Lord Castlereagh; when

Lord Castlereagh said, he had nothing in them to alter.

The Speaker observed, that then it remained for the noble lord to explain or vindicate the words he had used.

Lord Castlereagh said, he should go on to make good what he had asserted. The honourable gentleman in pursuing this question, had gone the length of stating, that if the conduct of the Princess of Wales was at all criminal, hers was a crime arising out of the conduct of the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Whitbread spoke to order. He denied what had now fallen from the noble lord. The noble lord was sufficiently skilled in debate, and in the practice of that house, to have stopped him (Mr. Whitbread) if he had so expressed himself; neither would the Speaker have allowed him so to talk

of the crown, or of the person virtually holding it.

The Speaker was of opinion Lord Castlereagh had a right to go on.

Lord Castlereagh said, he had not interrupted the honourable member, because his observations applied only to the Prince of Wales, and not to the person holding the crown; and he termed this conduct on the part of the honourable gentleman illiberal, attacking, as it was, a person in his absence.

Mr. Tierney spoke to order. If this mode of proceeding were adopted, a person who had no such intention as that imputed to him, might have any charge fixed upon him argumentatively.

Mr. Whitbread explained, that if any thing which had dropt from him could warrant the charge made against him by the noble lord, he could only say that it was by no means his intention.

Lord Castlereagh said that was quite satisfactory. The question then was, if the proposition of the honourable gentleman was one which it would be consistent with the duty they owed to the public for that house to adopt? his motion being to call two printers to the bar of the house; or rather, to order them to be prosecuted by the Attorney-general, after the interval of a fortnight, during which almost every document on all sides had been published. The whole line of argument pursued by the honourable gentleman went to shew that there was no use for any trial, rather

than to shew that a trial was necessary; and, indeed, from the speech of the honourable gentleman this night, it would rather seem as if it had been his wish to put the four commissioners on their trial. He thought, if the honourable gentleman had intended thus to lay his case, that it would have been but friendly in him to have apprized his noble friend (Lord Erskine) of his intention. At all events, it would have been fair to have given an honourable and learned friend of his (Sir S. Romilly) some idea of his intention, that, as that learned gentleman (then Solicitor-general) acted as secretary in the course of the investigation, he might have been enabled to give an explanation, or rather an answer, to the observation of the honourable gentleman. The honourable gentleman said, parliament should interpose, to the effect of giving to her royal highness the protection of the law. His lordship did not know that her royal highness was deprived of its protection. No step could be taken against her but under the law; and when proceedings at law were instituted, then would the protection of the law be open to her, as to every person else. He was not aware of any intention, in any quarter, which should render it necessary for her royal highness to resort to the law. When any seizure should be made for the sake of depriving one of their liberty, as in the case of Caroline Matilda, it would then be time enough to provide against it. The honourable gentleman was rather tardy

in complaining of the sin of disclosure in this case. No principle or end of justice could be served by complying with the present motion; and he had no doubt the house would consult its own dignity by negativing it.

Mr. Ponsonby stated it as his firm conviction, that his honourable friend, in the warmth of his zeal, had been misled: and that the person who had put that unauthenticated paper into his hands as Mrs. Lisle's deposition, had deceived him. He was sure, when the matter came to be sifted, that it would be found so; and that the four commissioners had equally done their duty to the crown and justice to Mrs. Lisle. He was sorry, however, those four commissioners being all peers, that they could not be present in that house to answer for themselves; and he was sorry also, that his honourable and learned friend was not present, because of his high character and legal knowledge, and because, if any improper depositions had been suffered to be taken, his honourable and learned friend was as culpable as the four noble lords. But he had such a firm reliance upon the known probity and integrity of those noble lords, that he was satisfied, when the whole came to be thoroughly investigated, it would be found that nothing had been done but what was strictly warranted and legal. He had, however, written a note to his honourable and learned friend (Sir S. Romilly) to inform him of what had happened since he quitted the house, and to re-

quest his presence in the course of the evening. With regard to the motion, he should certainly support it, but from reasons very different from those urged by his honourable friend. His object, in voting for the motion, was to put an end to it altogether; to extinguish that frightful and horrid scene; and if the house refused to accede to it, might they not expect that other disgusting and nauseous anecdotes would de put forth? and if so, whom would that house have to blame but itself? because, when a motion was before it, whose object was to check the odious stream, they refused to grant it. If it should prove so, he trusted that no man would say in that house afterwards, that there existed a spirit in the country to revile and traduce royalty; that there was an anti-monarchical disposition in the land: such reproaches he hoped never to hear in that house again, because, let whatever would be printed, they could have no cause to complain. The motion now before them, if accepted, would put a stop to the publications in question; if rejected, would encourage them; and, before another month elapsed, would make them all bitterly lament their refusal of it.

Mr. Bathurst spoke against the motion.

Mr. Stephen rose in consequence of an attack on the memory of an illustrious friend of his, the revered and lamented Mr. Perceval. When the honourable mover took merit to himself for not doing justice to the memory of that virtuous

minister; when he talked of sparing his character, by not drawing a comparison between his conduct on a former occasion, and that of the honourable gentleman himself now, it was barely possible to listen to him with patience and moderation. Mr. Perceval had undertaken to superintend a book containing the evidence in the case of the Princess of Wales, for her royal highness; and if as her advocate he had omitted any passages, to what would he have exposed her and himself? To the charge of having omitted and withheld parts of the testimony, and thereby invalidated the whole. He believed that this was the first time the mention of immorality had ever been connected with the name of Perceval, or that he had been accused of disregard to the decencies of life, who had been so eminent an example of respect to them all. But did the honourable gentleman mean to say, that as the Princess of Wales's counsel, in an appeal she was about to make to the public, he had any choice in altering or abridging the evidence on which that appeal was founded? And what was the letter which had been called "threatening?" It was written upon the supposition, that, by her exclusion from court being enforced, a sanction would be conferred not only upon the charge of levity, but upon the more serious accusations which had been brought against the princess—that she ought not to acquiesce in this ignominy, but afford the public an opportunity of judging

of her conduct. Ought Mr. Perceval, in this case, to have garbled the evidence? Even the honourable gentleman, with all his predilection for garbling, would scarcely say that ought to have been done. If a line had been suppressed, the argument would have been against the princess. He deeply deplored that her royal highness had not such advisers now as she had at that time. The honourable gentleman had undertaken a heavy responsibility by reading the paper relative to Mrs. Lisle's evidence—that paper from which he had drawn accusations against four noble lords, and the learned gentleman now in his place, (Sir S. Romilly, who had come in)—accusations which, if true, proved that they had acted in a manner highly perfidious to the trust reposed in them, and dishonourable to men in any rank in life. For what was the charge? That they had put words into the mouths of witnesses which they had never used, and extracted evidence by means of questions improper for a judge to put, and which would not have been permitted if the parties had had any legal advisers with them. If these were so, these noble lords were more reprehensible than he had words to express. But he doubted the honourable gentleman's information. He ridiculed the knight-errantry of the honourable gentleman, which, instead of procuring the evidence to be revised, was evaporated in an attack upon two editors. As for that conciliation which, he said, belonged to the letter he had

written for the princess, and read to the house, he (Mr. Stephen) did not see all that conciliatory temper in it. To him it looked more like a triumph on what had passed in that house. But he gladly relinquished the subject, having fulfilled the object for which he rose, to vindicate from the aspersion of want of a conciliatory spirit between man and wife, Mr. Perceval, who was himself an ornament to the conjugal state.

Sir S. Romilly having entered the house, rose and said, he was informed a statement had been made since he quitted the house, which he was compelled to do from urgent professional avocation, that very nearly concerned himself. He did not impute it to any want of candour on the part of his honourable friend, that such a statement took place in his absence: and he was extremely sorry it was not possible for him, at that moment to give the explanation that might be wished. The house would have in its recollection, that he stated on a former evening he had been present at all the examinations but one, on which day he did not receive the notice time enough to attend. It unfortunately happened that day was the last one; it was the 3d of July; and on that day Mrs. Lisle's examination took place. He was sorry it so occurred, not only for himself, but for the noble lords whose conduct had been questioned. But he could say, that unless the examination on that day differed from all former days, it was impossible that the statement put into the hands

of his honourable friend could be correct. The witnesses were uniformly examined by the two law lords, Erskine and Ellenborough; the questions were never in any instance taken down; only the answers; in the same way as was always done, he believed, when depositions were made before a magistrate. The information was then read over before the witnesses, who altered and corrected whatever they thought required it; after which they signed the whole. That course had been regularly pursued; he had himself taken down the evidence; never asking any questions himself, nor suggesting any; and if he were upon his oath (though he believed it was hardly necessary to say so,) he would affirm that the answers were taken down precisely as they were given. Some of the witnesses, after their depositions had been read to them, requested to read them themselves, which they did, and sometimes made alterations, which alterations would be found as they were made in the originals, for no fair copies were ever made of them. Unless, therefore, quite a different course was pursued on the last day to what had been adopted on any other day, the evidence on that day would be found as taken down in the hand-writing of one of the four lords.

In the course of this debate Mr. Whitbread stated, that a noble friend of her royal highness had done him the honour of asking his advice, and he on that occasion sketched out a letter of

dignified submission from her to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and sent it to the Princess. She did him the honour of taking a copy of it in her own hand, with the intention of sending it to the prince; but this healing and desirable step was prevented, by her receiving information, that Sir John and Lady Douglas were again under examination, and that too with the sanction of the Lord-Chancellor. The following is a correct copy of the letter:

SIR,

I once more approach your royal highness, and can venture to assure you, Sir, that if you will deign to read my letter, you will not be dissatisfied with its contents.

The report made by certain members of his majesty's privy-council, was communicated to me by Lord Sidmouth, and its contents appeared to those, upon whose advice I rely, to be such as to require on my part a public assertion of my innocence, and a demand of investigation. It cannot be unknown to your royal highness that I addressed a letter to the Lord-Chancellor, and a duplicate of that letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, for the purpose of its being communicated to the Houses of Parliament.

The Lord-Chancellor twice returned my letter, and did not communicate its contents to the House of Lords.

The Speaker of the House of Commons thought it his duty to announce the receipt of my letter, and it was read from the chair. To my inexpressible gratification I have been informed, that, although no proceeding was instituted according to my request, certain discussions which took place in that honourable house, have resulted in the complete, and unequivocal, and universal acknowledgement of my entire innocence, to the satisfaction of the world.

Allow me, Sir, to say to your royal highness, that I address you now, relieved from a load of distress which has pressed upon me for many years.

I was always conscious that I was free from reproach. I am now known to be so, and worthy to bear the exalted title of Princess of Wales.

On the subject of the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte, I bow, as becomes me, and with implicit deference to the opinion expressed by his majesty, now that I have been made acquainted with it. His majesty's decision I must always regard as sacred.

To such restrictions as your royal highness shall think proper to impose upon the intercourse between the Princess Charlotte and myself, as arising out of the acknowledged exercise of your parental and royal authority, I submit without observation; but I throw myself upon the compassion of your royal highness, not to abridge more than may be necessary my greatest, indeed, my only pleasure.

Your royal highness may be assured, that, if the selection of society for the Princess Charlotte, when on her visits to me, were left to my discretion, it would be, as it always has been, unexceptionable for rank and character. If your royal highness would condescend, Sir, to name the society yourself, your injunctions should be strictly adhered to.

I will not detain your royal highness—I throw myself again on your royal justice and compassion, and I subscribe myself, with perfect sincerity, and in the happy feelings of justified innocence, your royal highness's, *&c.*, *&c.*

A short time previous to these proceedings in parliament, the long suppressed "Book" made its appearance and put an end to all those doubts which the previous mystery that hung about the transactions it unfolded was calculated to excite.

No sooner had the public an opportunity of appreciating the real contents of *The Book*, than the citizens of London expressed a determination to meet, for the purpose of taking into consideration "the propriety of presenting a loyal and affectionate address to her royal highness, on the subject of the lately exposed wicked and cruel attempts against her royal highness's character and life." A requisition was delivered to the Lord-Mayor on the 29th of March, requesting him to hold a Common-hall, for the consideration of this proposition, and in accordance therewith, a Common-hall was actually convened on the 31st.

Alderman Wood brought forward the subject of the day, and, after commenting on the cruel slanders by which the princess had been assailed, and the complete and irrefragable establishment of her innocence, he moved an address to her royal highness to the effect above stated.

The address was, after some discussion, carried with very few opponents. It was also agreed that it should be presented to her royal highness by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and one hundred of the Livery.

Her royal highness received the Lord-Mayor and his attendants in the grand dining-room. She was accompanied by Ladies Charlotte Lindsay, Charlotte Campbell, and Lady Anne Hamilton, her royal highness's ladies-in-waiting. The Town Clerk having read the address, her royal highness read the following answer:

I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address. It is to me the greatest consolation to learn, that during so many years of unmerited persecution, notwithstanding the active and persevering dissemination of the most deliberate calumnies against me, the kind and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me, on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the citizens of London. The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy, which, by perjured and suborned traducers, has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious house with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage; the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations.

The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials; your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings. I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter the Princess Charlotte; and I shall impress upon her mind my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by this spontaneous act of your justice and generosity. She will therein clearly perceive the value of that free constitution, which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression; and she will ever be bound to the City of London in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.

Be assured that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and

happiness, will be cherished in grateful remembrance by me to the latest moment of my life; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city of this great empire, will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

Her royal highness read the answer with great propriety, feeling, and dignity. Mr. Alderman Wood remained in conversation with her royal highness for a considerable time, and pointed out the most prominent characters who were present, as they advanced to kiss her hand.

The example thus set by the City of London was followed by Westminster, by the Common-council of London, by the Freemen and Burgesses of Bristol, and by other populous places.

The proceedings in parliament, respecting her royal highness, were resumed in both houses on the 22d. In the House of Lords,

Lord Ellenborough, alluding to the evidence of Mrs. Lisle, read by Mr. Whitbread in the House of Commons, and commented on by that gentleman, said, that his name had been inserted in the commission of inquiry without any previous intimation. That regarding it as a proof of his majesty's opinion of his zeal and integrity, he did his duty to the best of his power: but it was in the performance of that duty that some person, with the most abandoned and detestable slander, had dared to charge him with a gross act of dishonesty; him, on whose character for integrity,

diligence, and care, depended more of the property and interests of the people than on those of any other man in the country; yet of him it was foully and slanderously alleged, that he had falsified the evidence given before the commission, giving in as a document evidence that was not received, and suppressing that which was actually given. This was all a lie,—a vile slander,—*all false as hell.* He would not violate the propriety of that house; he knew the respect and decency it required; but he must give the lie to falsehood. The noble lord then explained, that one night, when the commissioners had met to examine witnesses, the Solicitor-general (Sir S. Romilly), who had been appointed to arrange and take down evidence, was absent from home, and could not be found. The examination proceeded, and the commissioners requested that he would take down the evidence of the witnesses in attendance. He declared upon the most sacred asseveration that could be made—the most solemn sanction of an oath—that every word of that deposition came from the witness in question—that every word of it was read over to her, if not paragraph by paragraph as it was taken down, certainly all after it was taken—and every sheet signed with her name.

Lord Erskine deemed it scarcely necessary to vindicate himself from such an imputation as falsifying evidence. He should have thought that his professional character, his situation in life,

the rank he had held, might have been enough to wipe away every stigma. If magistrates were not permitted to put leading questions to witnesses, very fatal consequences might follow.

Lord Grenville and *Earl Spencer* expressed themselves in milder terms than the lord chief-justice, but to the same effect.

Earl Moira denied that he had covertly sought evidence on the subject alluded to. He not only never spontaneously sought information, but he had never been instigated so to do. His inquiries having led him to believe that the statement was unfounded, he had reported that no further proceedings were necessary. The commission of inquiry was not appointed until three years after. He characterized Mary Lloyd as an unwilling witness, and declared that the examination of Drs. Mills and Edmeades at his house was to prevent publicity as much as possible.

Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, begged to say a few words relative to some parts of his speech in the house on a former evening. From what he had just heard, it had been stated elsewhere, by a high and grave authority, that what he read to the house on a former night, as a copy of the evidence of Mrs. Lisle, was wholly fabricated and false. From the account which he had just received, it appeared that the truth of this evidence was disclaimed by all the noble commissioners; from which it would appear that he

had been imposed upon. But before he would declare his settled opinion to the house, on that point, he wished also to learn what was the declaration of the witness herself (Mrs. Lisle) on the subject. He was anxious to know whether she considered it a fabrication: and would not wholly disbelieve it, until that was ascertained. He would say, for his own part, that he neither sought or bought this evidence; and that it was not sent to him by the Princess of Wales herself, or officially in her name. He would, therefore, suspend his opinion, until he could procure further information.

Mr. Tierney was sorry for the course adopted by his honourable friend, and regretted his intention of postponing his declaration till he should hear from Mrs. Lisle.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had come to the resolution of postponement, on mature deliberation, nor should he now depart from it. He would to-morrow send the evidence to Mrs. Lisle, and on Wednesday evening, as an honourable member's motion stood for that night, (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's) would declare his further sentiments, should he by that time hear from Mrs. Lisle. But should the honourable member delay or postpone his motion, he would take an early opportunity of declaring whether he had been grossly imposed upon, as had been asserted. If he was imposed upon, the gentleman who gave him this evidence was so likewise; and it would be time

enough to make the declaration when he had it in his power to do so with truth.

Mr. Bathurst said, the course pursued by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), instead of furthering the cause of justice, as the honourable gentleman expressed, and as it was natural to suppose his object should be, went, if countenanced, to overturn one-half of the judicial proceedings of this country. Did not the honourable gentleman know that in many instances, at the quarter-sessions particularly, where the honourable gentleman himself was in the habit of attending, the answers only, and not the questions, were taken down in writing? Was it not also a fact, that the judges, in recapitulating the evidence to juries, gave the answers only, and in no one instance both questions and answers? Yet what said the honourable gentleman now! That he would not pay respect to the declaration of all the four noble lords who had acted as commissioners on the occasion alluded to; but that he would wait till he was satisfied by the declaration of Mrs. Lisle, not made under the sanction of an oath, as her deposition already referred to had been. The honourable gentleman had read the paper in question, not knowing that it had come from Mrs. Lisle. The four noble lords utterly disclaimed it, and declared it to be a fabrication, and it did not appear that Mrs. Lisle set it up as being true. Instead of the honourable gentleman being surprised that the paper had

been so long in being disclaimed, he (Mr. Bathurst) thought he might rather have been led to the conclusion that it was an imposition, from seeing that it had not yet been authenticated in any shape. It appeared to him (Mr. Bathurst) that the honourable gentleman did not consult his usual judgment in keeping this matter pending, seeing that the paper could never be authenticated, and that, at the least, if Mrs. Lisle should say that certain questions had been put to her, it would only be the recollection of the witness setting up the questions as well as the answers. In only one single point, the honourable member had said, the deposition, and the paper from which he had read the questions and answers, did not agree; and was this paper, he asked, to be taken in direct contradiction to the testimony of Mrs. Lisle, as taken down by the commissioners; read over by them to the witness; and, on due deliberation, authenticated by her signature? This proceeding on the part of the honourable gentleman, he was sorry to think, was one of the most extraordinary which had arisen out of this most unfortunate discussion.

Mr. Whitbread declared, whatever might be said on the subject should not change his determination.

It will be seen from the parliamentary proceedings already related, that the warmest friends and advocates of the princess, were those who are considered as belonging to no party, especially

Mr. Whitbread; and certainly the whole of his behaviour reflects the greatest credit upon his memory. On the other hand, perhaps no man's character suffered more on this trying occasion than that of the Earl of Moira. In the examination of some of the witnesses respecting the charge of pregnancy, he betrayed an apparent desire to discover evidence of its truth, and he seemed to have lent himself to the prince's interest through the whole transaction, in a manner neither becoming his rank, nor his reputation for high and unsullied honour.

His lordship, aware of the impression which his conduct had made upon the public mind, addressed the following letter, in extenuation, to a friend, who was a member of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, whose good opinion his lordship appears particularly anxious to retain :

March 23, 1813.

My dear sir,

The difficulty of taking down, with accuracy, in the House of Lords, what is said by any individual, as the reporters are not allowed to take notes, has occasioned the account of what passed there yesterday to be incorrect in many of the papers. I am thence anxious to detail to you the substance of the explanation given by me, that you may communicate it to our brethren of the lodge, whom I had requested to suspend their opinions on the subject till I might feel at liberty to enter upon it. I thought it expedient to separate the matter into distinct heads, that each of the misrepresentations I had to combat may be answered the more precisely.

1st. I never happened to be at Belvidere, or in its vicinity in the whole course of my life. It follows that I could not have sought *there* any information respecting the princess's conduct. But the negative does not only apply to that place. In no one instance have I ever spontaneously endeavoured to obtain particulars respecting her royal highness's behaviour; and I should certainly have declined such a function, had the prince requested it of me, which I am persuaded never entered the most distantly into his contemplation. It is not in his nature to prompt so vile a practice. When any matter has been referred to me, or any communication has been made to me, in an authentic and formal manner, my oath, as one of the prince's council, bound me to such examination of the point, as I might think the honour and interest of his royal highness required.

2d. Two of Lord Eardley's servants were examined by me in London, in a spirit very different from what is slanderously imputed by the princess's legal advisers. Lord Eardley had given to the prince an account, absolutely uninvited, and no less unwelcome, of meetings between the princess and Captain Manby at Belvidere, which his lordship had represented (from the report of his servants), as having caused great scandal in the neighbourhood. His lordship had asked an audience of the prince, who had no suspicion of his object, for the purpose of stating the fact, and exonerating himself from any supposition of connivance.

When the prince did me the honour of relating to me this representation of Lord Eardley's expressing great uneasiness that the asserted notoriety of the interviews at Belvidere, and the comments of the neighbours, should force him to take any public steps, I suggested the possibility that there might be misapprehension of the circumstances; and I entreated that, before any other procedure should be determined upon, I might send for the steward (Kenney), and

the porter (J. Partridge), to examine them. This was permitted. I sent for the servants and questioned them. My report to the prince was, that the matter had occasioned very little observation in the house, none at all in the neighbourhood, and that it was entirely unnecessary for his royal highness to notice it in any shape. The servants had been desired by me never to talk upon the subject; Lord Eardley was informed that his conception of what had been stated by the servants was found to be inaccurate; no mention was ever made to any one, not even to the lords who conducted the inquiry, three years afterwards, of the particulars related by the servants, and the circumstance never would have been known at all, had not the legal advisers of the princess, for the sake of putting a false colour on that investigation, indiscreetly brought it forward. The death of Kenney, in the interval, tempted them to risk this procedure. Jonathan Partridge having been known, at the time when he was questioned, to be devoted to the princess, from his own declaration to the steward, no one can doubt but that her royal highness would the next day be informed by him of his having been examined. The measure was most offensive, if not justified by some uncommon peculiarity of circumstance. Yet absolute silence is preserved upon it for so long a period by her royal highness's advisers; a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch upon the point while Kenney was alive.

3d. The interviews with Dr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades did not take place till between three and four years after the examination of Lord Eardley's servants, and had no reference to it. Fanny Lloyd, a maid-servant in the princess's family, had, in an examination to which I was not privy, asserted Dr. Mills to have mentioned to her that the princess was pregnant; a deposition which obviously made it necessary that Dr. Mills should be subjected to examination.

This happened to be discussed before me; and it was

my suggestion that it would be more delicate to let me request the attendance of Dr. Mills at my house, and to have him meet the magistrate there, than that publicity and observation should be entailed by his being summoned to the office in Marlborough-street. Dr. Mills came early; and then it was immediately discovered that it was his partner, Mr. Edmeades, who had bled Fanny Lloyd, though the latter (knowing the princess's apothecary to be Dr. Mills, and imagining it was that apothecary who had bled her) had confounded the names. Dr. Mills was, therefore, dismissed, without being examined by the magistrate; and he was begged to send Mr. Edmeades on another morning. Mr. Edmeades came accordingly, and was examined before the magistrate. An attempt is made to pervert an observation of mine into an endeavour to make Mr. Edmeades alter his testimony, injuriously for the princess. So far from there being any thing of conciliation in my tone, Mr. Conant must well remember my remark to have been made as a correction of what I deemed a premeditated and improper pertness of manner in Mr. Edmeades. It was an unmitigated profession of my belief, that he was using some subterfuge to justify his denial: a declaration little calculated to win him to pliancy, had I been desirous of influencing his testimony. My conviction on the point remains unchanged. One or other of the parties was wilfully incorrect in their statement; if Fanny Lloyd were so, it was downright perjury: Mr. Edmeades might have answered only elusively. I have been told that some individual, pointing at the direct opposition between the affidavits of Mr. Edmeades and Fanny Lloyd, has indicated the preferable credit which ought to be given to the oath of a well-educated man, in a liberal walk of life, over that of a person in the humble station of a maid-servant. I shall not discuss the justice of the principle which arbitrarily assumes deficiency of moral rectitude to be the natural inference from humility of condition.

The inculcation in the present instance would have been somewhat more rational, had it advised, that in a case of such absolute contradiction, upon a simple fact, the comprehension of which could have nothing to do with education, you should consider on which side an obvious temptation to laxity appears. Fanny Lloyd was not merely a reluctant witness, but had expressed the greatest indignation at being subject to examination. When she swore positively to a circumstance admitting of no latitude, the only thing to be weighed was, what probability of inducement existed for her swearing that which she knew to be false. It will appear that her testimony on that point, was not consonant to the partiality which she had proclaimed; that by the other parts of her evidence she was barring the way to reward, if any profligate hopes of remuneration led her to risk the falsehood; and that she could not be influenced by malice against Mr. Edmeades, with whom it was clear she was unacquainted. Nothing, therefore, presented itself, to throw an honest doubt upon her veracity. Mr. Edmeades was very differently circumstanced. A character for dangerous chattering was absolute ruin to him in his profession. He had the strongest of all motives to exonerate himself from the charge, if he could hit upon any equivocation by which he might satisfy himself in the denial of it. And the bearing of my remark must not be misunderstood. No man would infer any thing against the princess on the ground of such a random guess as that of Mr. Edmeades must have been, unless Mr. Edmeades should support his proposition by the adduction of valid reasons and convincing circumstances; but there was a consequence ascribable to it in its loosest state. His having been sufficiently indiscreet to mention his speculation to others, as well as to Fanny Lloyd, would well account for what was otherwise incomprehensible; namely, the notion of the princess's pregnancy, so generally entertained at Greenwich, and in that neighbourhood. I.

was my conviction that such indiscretion had taken place, not any belief of the fact to which it related, that I endeavoured to convey by remark.

4th. This construction is not put upon the circumstances now for the first time. A paper of mine, submitted to his majesty at the period of the investigation, and lodged with the other documents relative to that inquiry, rebuts in the same terms the base attempt of insinuating conspiracy against the princess. Why that paper has not seen the light with the other documents may be surmised. I had thought it incumbent on me, from the nature of the transaction, not to furnish any means for its publication from the copy in my possession. The present explanation unavoidably states all the material points contained in it.—But it will be felt by every one, that the detail has been extorted from me.

5th. The editor of a Sunday publication has asserted his having been told, by a person known to him, that I had commissioned the person to insert in an evening paper anonymous paragraphs, injurious to the princess. The procedure is so little consistent with any custom of mine, that, to the best of my recollection and belief, I never sent an unauthenticated article, of any form and tenor, to a newspaper, but once in my life. That was upon an erroneous statement, affecting myself alone, which I pointed out to a gentleman who happened to call upon me, expressing my wish that he would contradict it. A matter so trivial would not have been mentioned by me, did it not shew that, even in cases which might be considered indifferent, I had habitual objection to sending any thing for insertion in a newspaper; therefore, I could not have slidden inconsiderately into the turpitude with which I am now charged. But if, upon insertions that might be uninteresting to others, I speak only as to memory, it is not the same with regard to anonymous attacks on the character of another. On that I make no

reservations; I deny with the most solemn appeal to the Supreme Being, the having ever levelled such a shaft against the feelings of any individual whatever. I know not the seduction on earth that could reconcile me to what I consider as equally mean and atrocious. No excuse of wit, no plea of public good, could palliate to me the baseness of wounding another covertly. If I feel this generally, I must do so in a peculiar degree towards the exalted personage in contemplation, whose sex, whose station, and whose circumstances, would make such detraction execrable beyond what words can express. I know not any person who would pass that sentence on the act more decidedly or more indignantly than the illustrious individual whose favour might be supposed to be sought by the dirty procedure. These were the points which I advanced to the House of Lords; I there vouched them on the faith of a gentleman, and I repeat to you that assertion of their accuracy.

I have the honour to be, my dear sir,

Most truly your's,

MOIRA.

The mind of the Princess of Wales had been long drooping under every species of affliction, and it was now doomed to experience an additional weight in the death of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick, which took place on the 23d of March, 1813. A hope was at that time excited, that the event of the death of the Duchess of Brunswick might be the means of disposing the illustrious parties, most nearly allied to the deceased, to come to an understanding, which would reflect honour on themselves, and give the most lively satisfaction to the country. A calamity, falling suddenly upon any particular circle

of society, often disposes the individuals which compose it, to quell their personal resentments, and, in one general effusion of sorrow, to drown the recollection of private animosities.

Highly did it redound to the credit and to the honour of the Prince Regent, that he was no sooner apprized of the death of the Duchess of Brunswick, than he immediately hinted to his daughter, the propriety of a visit to her mother, but, at the same time, left it to her own judgment, whether it would not be more decorous, were the visit to be postponed until after the funeral. The tender and affectionate feelings of the Princess Charlotte would not, however, permit her to defer her visit until the time mentioned by her august father, and the intimation had not been received many hours before her royal highness, attended by the Duchess of Leeds, and the sub-governess, Miss Knight, was in her carriage on her way to Blackheath. On her arrival there, the inhabitants of that neighbourhood had assembled on the hill and heath in great crowds, and received her royal highness with loud huzzas.

On the same day as the Duchess of Brunswick died, Mr. Whitbread rose in the House of Commons and said, he begged permission to mention what had passed, in consequence of the step he had taken, relative to a certain paper, from which he had read parts a few nights ago, concerning the examinations into the conduct of the Princess of

Wales. As much misrepresentation had gone abroad, as to the manner in which he had read those passages, and commented upon them, he must take the liberty of recalling to the recollection of the house, that in the comments which he had felt himself justified in making on the examination of Mrs. Lisle, he did not vouch for the authority of the paper which he then quoted; but only stated, that from the manner in which he received it, he had reason to believe in its authenticity. He had stated that copies of the depositions had been published; and that he understood that many of those copies published in the newspapers were incorrect. He had also stated further, that it was his opinion, that if the questions which were put to Mrs. Lisle, according to the paper he had read, had been published along with the deposition, the unfavourable impressions against the Princess of Wales, conveyed by the deposition, would be greatly relieved. But it certainly was in the recollection of the house, that he had never said of the four noble lords commissioners, that they had fabricated, or falsified, or withheld evidence given before them. What he had said was this: that if the paper put into his hands was correct in that point, respecting the question put to Mrs. Lisle, as to her opinion whether the Princess of Wales conducted herself as a married woman ought to conduct herself, contrasting her supposed conduct with that which became a married woman? then unquestionably

he found that there was no answer given to that question. He never said that the commissioners kept back any part of the statements. He had not read all, but only a part of the questions said to have been put; and he had in observation added, his opinion, (the opinion, of course, of an ignorant person,) that certain questions ought not to have been put to Mrs. Lisle. He had certainly supposed, and believed, that the questions had been put down as well as the answers. If he could not state the authenticity of the paper, still he did not think himself imposed upon. Respecting his idea of the questions being put down, he could only say, that he knew that in commissions instituted either by act of parliament, or by the crown, on which reports were made, the questions put were always taken down and recorded. Such was also the case in similar matters in the Court of Chancery. He was, therefore, misled by those considerations, into a belief that a similar practice had obtained in this instance. He was extremely sorry that his honourable and learned friend (Sir S. Romilly) was not now in his place: but he nevertheless felt it expedient to give the house the result of his inquiries into the subject. He was convinced, that the paper could not be received as an authentic document, after what had fallen from his learned friend: but he was still impressed with the belief, that the witness considered it correct. In introducing it, he stated it as an illustration of his argument, and had said,

that if the examinations had gone forth along with the depositions, the sting would have been taken out of the deposition of Mrs. Lisle. He had pursuant to what he stated in the house last night, written a letter to Mrs. Lisle, which he should trouble the house by reading.

House of Commons, March 22, 1813.

Dear Madam,

I am exceedingly sorry to be troublesome to you, and especially on such an occasion: but when I have stated the cause to you, I have no doubt you will acknowledge the necessity I am under of addressing you.

On Wednesday last, before I went to the House of Commons, a paper was put into my hands, of which I send you a copy enclosed.

I was assured it contained an authentic account of your examination before the Lords-Commissioners, on the conduct of the Princess of Wales.

Believing in the integrity of the person who made the communication to me, I used (as I was told I might truly do) the paper in the House of Commons, and as I thought that justice demanded that I should.

Lord Ellenborough has this evening declared in the House of Lords, that the paper is a false fabrication, as I understand from those who heard him; and the other commissioners have expressed their opinions, although more mildly, to the same effect.

So circumstanced, I am compelled to ask you, whether you agree in the character ascribed to the paper by the noble lords? If you do, I shall only have to lament, that I have been imposed upon, and to acknowledge the imposition practised upon me.

If the paper should ever before have been seen by you, I

shall be extremely glad to receive all such information as you may have it in your power to give respecting it, that I may trace the fabrication to its author.

I have the honour to be, dear madam,

Your faithful servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Mr. Whitbread said, he selected the softest words used by the learned lord. There were other words used, which were banished from the communications of the intermediate ranks of society; words which were not considered necessary for personal justification, or even for offence. In the lowest ranks, indeed, they had sunk into disregard; and if they could find a place anywhere, it must be only in the *sacred* person of the Lord Chief-justice of England. To this letter he had received an answer from Mrs. Lisle, which he also read.

Canbury, March 23, 1813.

Dear Sir,

I received this morning your letter, with the accompanying account of my examination when before the Lords-Commissioners in the year 1806; and having compared it with the original document, I find them exactly similar.

On my return from the Lords-Commissioners, I, to the best of my recollection, committed to paper the questions which had been put to me, and my answers; and I transmitted a copy of them to the Princess of Wales, having previously received her royal highness's commands so to do.

It has never been my intention to set up these recollections against my deposition; and as little has it been my wish that they should be made public. Indeed, so scru-

pulous have I been in this respect, that, with the exception of the copy sent to the princess, immediately after my examination, the paper now in question was not, till very recently, seen by my nearest connexions; even now it would not have been seen by them, had not erroneous statements, and garbled extracts from my depositions, appeared in some of the public papers.

How the paper has found its way into your hands, I guess not. As I have already stated, it has not been by any act or intention of mine; but certainly the paper which you have sent me is a correct copy of the one I had written.

I am, dear sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
HESTER LISLE.

Now, (Mr. Whitbread observed,) he hoped, that neither the house nor the public would say that he had been imposed upon! or that there was any intermediate fabrication by the person who gave him the paper, or by Mrs. Lisle herself. The paper contained the questions and answers put down by Mrs. Lisle on her return from the investigation; but Mrs. Lisle observed, that she did not set up her recollections against the deposition; neither did he. It was fitting to remark a singular coincidence: Mrs. Lisle wrote from her recollection; but there was no difference in the answers she put down, and those stated in the deposition, except in one instance. The answers followed in almost exactly the same order, in the account of the examination and in the deposition. He must return to his original intention, and say, that he should have thought it unfortunate for the

cause of justice, and that he should have considered himself extremely blamable, if he had not, under all the circumstances, endeavoured to take the sting out of the deposition. There, then, the house had an account of the way in which the examination was taken. If the questions were wrongly stated, and the commissioners could contradict the account, it was so far well. For his own part, he could not throw any such imputation upon Mrs. Lisle, as to imagine that she had made the slightest attempt at fabrication. There was, indeed, in another part of the paper itself, internal evidence of its authenticity: for in taxing her memory, Mrs. Lisle had, in one instance, said, that she could not put down an answer to one question, having forgotten the precise answer which she made to it. He felt very sorry, in these unfortunate circumstances, to have done any thing which could give pain to noble lords, and friends for whom he entertained a high respect; or to any magistrate, such particularly as the Lord Chief-justice of the King's Bench: but he had felt the paramount importance of a sense of justice to the part he had taken in the business, and which occasioned his comments. On that feeling he relied, and was upheld by it now. He thought it his duty to take some course for setting himself right; and he placed himself on the justice of the house.

Lord Castlereagh must lament, that when the learned gentleman, (Sir S. Romilly,) was present

early the other evening, the honourable member had not communicated to him the contents of the paper, in order to ascertain what its character was, and what was that of the other authenticated document whose credit was to be impaired by it. He could only hope, that in this age of disclosure, the honourable member would admit, that in this respect it was imprudent to hazard such a document as he had produced, before he knew that it contained a description entitled to that credit which he seemed to mean to attach to it.

Sir S. Romilly said, that his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) had been quite incorrect in his supposition, that any part of the evidence had been burnt or destroyed. There had been only one examination taken down of the evidence of any witness, and no minute or copy was kept of it. In many of these depositions, there had been considerable alterations at the request of the witnesses. He could not, however, absolutely take upon him to say, that in some cases where there were many of these alterations, there might not have been a copy made.

Mr. Ponsonby thought that there could not be a stronger illustration of the frailty of memory, than that his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) could not now remember, with any accuracy, what was his statement the other night. The impression which his statement had conveyed to his mind was certainly, that the commissioners had set down something contrary to what the witness now

alleged to be her evidence. That this had been the impression on his mind he had then stated to the house, and had thought it necessary to send a note to his right honourable and learned friend (Sir S. Romilly), to request an explanation relative to this statement. If a witness were afterwards to give an account of a transaction different from his deposition regularly taken, the effect of this would be to destroy the credit of such witness. He thought he had some cause of complaint against his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread), who having sat near him for some time before he made his statement, never intimated to him, that it was his intention to bring forward such a charge against the four noble commissioners; with three of whom, at least, he had lived in the greatest habits of intimacy, and whose honour was as dear to him as his own. He could not help saying, that the impression made on his mind, by the statement, was, that the commissioners were charged with having submitted to his majesty, as the deposition of Mrs. Lisle, something which was substantially different from what that witness meant to say. 'A graver and more serious charge could not have been made on men, who were upon their oaths, discharging a painful duty, in which the character of one of the most illustrious persons in the nation was concerned. If they had acted in such a manner, he thought they would be deserving of impeachment, and the most serious punishment.

Sir Francis Burdett could not see any grounds for attacking the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), who had brought this important subject forward in a manner which was highly creditable to his great abilities and to his strong sense of public duty. So far from regretting that the subject had been brought forward in the manner it had been, he thought that it was most fortunate for the public that it had so come forward. He thought that it must be supposed to convey the greatest satisfaction to every person in the country to find, that in consequence of the manner the business was brought forward, innocence had been made apparent to the world, and the fullest conviction was produced on the public mind, that the object of all those inquiries was completely innocent. He thought that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) had himself shewn want of memory in the representation which he had given of the words of the honourable gentleman. The whole of the proceedings before that commission were so anomalous, that he could not be surprised if irregularities had taken place. When he considered the mode of the examination, he could see no analogy between it and the usual mode of taking examinations in open court or before magistrates. It was altogether a secret proceeding, and a witness might be allowed to feel and express her sense of any thing which appeared to her to be incorrect in it. If the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) had not verified

this document before the statement, he had done so since: and he did not see any thing in his conduct deserving of the reprehension which it had met with from many members. He could not avoid returning his thanks to the honourable gentleman, for the manner in which he had brought forward this great question: and he thought that it had been productive of the happiest effect, as nothing could be more important than that the innocence of the illustrious personage should be so completely vindicated to the world.

Mr. Ponsonby said a few words in explanation, and the conversation dropped.

On the 24th March, on the motion of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, the petition of Sir John and Lady Douglas was read; and

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone then said, in rising to call the attention of the house to the petition which had just been read, he would, as he laboured under severe indisposition, be as brief as possible. He believed—he was persuaded that the house would agree with him, that the petition of Sir John and Lady Douglas was nothing more than an impudent attempt to give a colouring of truth in the eyes of the nation to the falsehoods they had sworn. The petition, however, was before them; but in justice to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, he thought it ought not to be entered on their journals without giving it some mark of their reprobation. Some

might think it was wholly unworthy of their notice, and that by noticing it they would give it a degree of importance which otherwise would not be attached to it. He thought differently, as he felt they ought not to confine their view of it to the case as it stood at present: he therefore wished some mark of reprobation to be put upon it, to guard against such an effect. The petition appeared to him to originate in a wish to persevere in the most detestable falsehoods. He concluded by moving—"That the petition of Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, laid on the table of the house on the 16th of March, is regarded as an audacious effort to give, in the eyes of the public, a colour of truth to the falsehoods before sworn to by them, in prosecuting their infamous designs against the honour and life of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales."

Sir F. Burdett seconded the motion.

Mr. Herbert rose, but could not be heard for some time, from the loud cries of "*Question, question!*" which burst from all parts of the house. He opposed the motion. He could not consent to express such an opinion on the evidence of the petitioners, on which they might still have to act as judges; against such a resolution he would raise his voice, and, though he might stand alone, take the sense of the house on the subject.

Mr. Whitbread contended that no regular grounds had been laid for the motion, which declared that Sir John Douglas had attempted to set up, in the

eyes of the public, that evidence as good, which had been proved to be false. They had not that evidence before them; and therefore, whatever his sentiments were on the subject, and the more he reflected on it, the more he was satisfied that their evidence was false from beginning to end, and a part of a most wicked and atrocious attempt on the honour and life of the Princess of Wales; still, as they had not the documents before them, on which such a resolution should be founded, he would not concur with the motion. He thought it would be better that the house should resolve not to take it into consideration at all; and that the previous question should be moved to get rid of the subject, or the order of the day passed on to, or any other mode adopted, which would enable them to quit the subject without giving an opinion on it: if, however, he must say ay or no to the question, his vote would be no, for the reasons he had already stated.

The Solicitor-General, after a conversation had been carried on to some length, moved that the house do adjourn; which was carried without opposition.

March 31.—*Mr. Whitbread* assured the house that it was with great pain and reluctance that he now came forward to call the attention of the house to a circumstance connected with a subject which he had hoped it would never have been necessary again to discuss or allude to in that

house. Nevertheless, some circumstances had since occurred, so novel, and so important in their nature, that he felt himself obliged by his public duty to submit them to their consideration. On Saturday last, a letter, purporting to be from the Earl of Moira, to a member of the grand lodge of freemasons, appeared in many of the public papers. There was every reason to believe that the letter did really come from the noble lord, and he understood that his lordship avowed it. The public had lately been told, or at least induced by general rumour to believe, that all further investigation had been stopped; and they had heard with great satisfaction that the Princess Charlotte had visited her royal mother. They had hoped this unhappy business was on the point of being favourably terminated. The letter, however, which had been published under the sanction of the high name of Lord Moira, contained paragraphs, which he thought required a full explanation; and as the noble lord was upon the point of leaving this country, to execute the high duties with which he was intrusted in India, it appeared to him absolutely necessary, that before his departure he should explain the meaning of certain paragraphs (of which he alone could know the meaning), but which, according to the obvious construction of them, were considered by the public as reflecting upon her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. He should now point out the paragraphs which, as he thought,

his lordship should be called upon to explain before he left England. In that letter there was the following sentence:—

"When the prince did me the honour of relating to me this representation of Lord Eardley's, expressing great uneasiness that the asserted notoriety of the interviews at Belvidere, and the comments of the neighbours, should force him to take any public steps, I suggested the possibility that there might be misapprehension of the circumstances; and I entreated that, before any other procedure should be determined upon, I might send for the steward (Kenny) and the porter (Jonathan Partridge), to examine them. This was permitted. I sent for the servants and questioned them. My report to the prince was, that the matter had occasioned very little observation in the house, none at all in the neighbourhood, and that it was entirely unnecessary for his royal highness to notice it in any shape. The servants had been desired by me never to talk upon the subject; Lord Eardley was informed that his conception of what had been stated by the servants was found to be inaccurate; no mention was ever made to any one, not even to the lords who conducted the inquiry, three years afterwards, of the particulars related by the servants, and the circumstance never would have been known at all, had not the legal advisers of the princess, for the sake of putting a false colour on that investigation, indiscreetly brought it forward. The death of Kenney, in the interval, tempted them to risk this procedure. Jonathan Partridge having been known, at the time when he was questioned, to be devoted to the princess, from his own declaration to the steward, no one can doubt but that her royal highness would the next day be informed by him of his having been examined. The measure was most offensive, if not justified by some uncommon peculiarity of circumstance. Yet absolute silence is preserved upon it for so

long a period by her royal highness's advisers; a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch upon the point while Kenney was alive."

When first he read the paragraph, he could not avoid putting the same construction upon it which he found by the public papers had been put upon it out of doors. He did conceive it to mean that there was something in the evidence of Kenny which made the advisers of the princess afraid to advert to it during his lifetime; and with this impression on his mind, he had intended to have brought the matter before the house last Monday, in order that an impression should not go abroad injurious to the princess, after the Earl of Moira should have left the country, and explanation was impossible. Upon reading the paragraph, however, over and over again, to try whether he could find out another meaning, it occurred to him, that perhaps his lordship only meant that Kenny, if alive, could have contradicted any person who said that his lordship examined the witnesses in any manner that was improper, or unbecoming his dignity. Thinking that this might possibly be the meaning of the noble lord, he did not conceive it necessary to bring the business before the house; but finding by some observations in one of the public papers of this day, that the subject was viewed in another light out of doors, and that the public understood that part of the noble lord's letter according to its plain and obvious construction, he thought it now of the greatest importance

that Lord Moira should have an opportunity of explaining his meaning before he left the country. As any assertion which came from a man so high in rank and so high in character as Lord Moira, must carry with it great weight, he thought that an impression ought not to be suffered to remain on the public mind, that either the princess or her advisers were ever afraid that her honour would have been in danger from any evidence which Kenny might have given. There was another paragraph which Lord Moira, and none but he, could explain. When it was stated in the letter, that Partridge, Lord Eardley's porter, was known to be entirely devoted to the princess, he thought it ought to be explained what was meant by the devotion of one of Lord Eardley's menial servants to the Princess of Wales. As the noble lord was so soon to quit the country, and as this was a point of such high importance, he felt himself justified, even without previous notice, in making a motion for the purpose of allowing the noble lord an opportunity for explanation. He had before stated, that he had from time to time indulged the hope that there would no longer be occasion to mention this subject in parliament: but if new documents and new matter were thus laid before the public from day to day, he must say that he despaired of any termination of this business, unless it should be put finally to rest, either by a formal recognition of the innocence of the princess being recommended to the crown by its advisers, or by some parliamentary proceed

ings. He should not say in what manner this recognition should be made; but he thought, that if the advisers of his royal highness would advise him to grant her an establishment suitable to her rank, either from his own civil list, or in any other way, such a measure would give the greatest satisfaction to the public. After a few more observations, he concluded by a motion to the following effect:—

"That a message should be sent to the House of Lords, desiring that the Earl of Moira should be allowed to attend that house for the purpose of giving them information as to the knowledge of certain circumstances relative to the conduct of the Princess of Wales."

The Speaker said, that before he put the question, he felt it his duty to state to the house, that a grave consideration arose in his mind as to the parliamentary usage with respect to such a motion. The house was not in the habit of desiring the attendance of any noble lord, unless upon some investigation or matter pending in that house. If it was not stated to their lordships that there was some matter pending in the house, on which the evidence of a noble lord was required, he thought that their lordships would undoubtedly reject the application. If such an inquiry or investigation were resolved upon, then it would be regular to make such an application; but his memory could not furnish him with a single precedent in the history of parliament, of such an application

having been made, unless on a matter pending in the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, he thought the house must feel, that according to the custom of parliament, the present motion could not be received. He should, however, not confine himself merely to the forms of the house, but would say, upon the substance of it, that he was surprised that the honourable gentleman should (after six times that the subject had been brought forward in different shapes, and the feeling of the house well known upon it) think it necessary again to bring the subject before them. He could conceive no other purpose which this could answer, but to agitate the public mind, and wound the delicacy of the house. This was merely a collateral point of a subject, into which the honourable gentleman well knew that the house did not wish to enter. He was also surprised that, at the close of his speech, instead of calling upon them to pronounce upon the question of guilt or innocence, he should merely have suggested an increase of the establishment of her royal highness. If no question of form had rendered the motion inadmissible, he should have opposed it in its substance, as he was convinced that no possible good could result from the interference of parliament; and he thought that, on the contrary, it might in every quarter prove injurious. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which after a short debate was carried, and thus the matter ended.

Thus far the interference of parliament had in the eyes of the nation, established the innocence of her royal highness; her accusers sunk into obscurity, Lord Moira, who did not come out of the business with an wholly unblemished reputation, was appointed shortly after to the governor-generalship of India; Sir John and Lady Douglas hid their diminished heads, no one knew where; and the storm appeared to have passed over the head of her royal highness without any apparent injury; but notwithstanding the proof of her innocence which was particularly established by the exposition of facts in "The Book," a variety of petty arts were resorted to, in order to render her life as unpleasant as possible. A certain distinguished personage, whose hostility to her royal highness, both in public and private, was very well known, but who now, peace to her ashes, resides in that bourne where all personal resentment is swallowed up for ever, was one of the principal instruments in procuring the exclusion of her royal highness from the court of this country.

At this period of our history, peace had been restored to Europe—the imprescriptible rights of legitimacy had conquered; and the sovereigns whose thrones were founded on that supposed sacred basis, began a peregrination of the kingdoms to which the blessings of peace had been restored by the combined prowess of their swords. Amongst those kingdoms, England could not

pass unnoticed; for she had both wielded her sword manfully, and opened her purse lavishly; and great were the praises which were bestowed on England for her mighty exertions. It was, therefore, most natural that the European monarchs, who would not have been monarchs but for England's blood and England's gold, should be desirous of visiting a land which had done so much in their behalf, and of becoming more intimately acquainted with a people the first and foremost in Europe's emancipation. Accordingly they came, and joy was in the land. The country saw, with exultation, the Chinese-bridge rising in spiral beauty from the fetid waters of St. James's Park. The English merchant on the Exchange, rushed with enthusiasm to shake the Cossack, the semi-barbarian, by the hand. The bloodless battle of the Serpentine was fought, and a balloon rose in majestic beauty to tell to the gods above what wondrous doings were then achieving upon earth.

But from all these joys and sports, these frolics, and these pastimes, one illustrious individual was shut out, as if she were unworthy of partaking of the happiness of the people over whom she was one day destined to reign as queen. She heard, indeed, the thundering cannon on the Serpentine—she heard the obstreperous shouts of the assembled multitude when the fagots of the fire-ship flamed furiously, flashing its fires on the flying foe—she saw the fire consuming the Pagoda; that *chef*

d'œuvre of Nash's transcendant genius; and she was right glad she was not there.

But from the battle, the balloon, and the Pagoda: from the booths, the shews, and gin-shops, which ornamented the royal park of Hyde, we turn to more courtly objects.

One of the visiting monarchs, the King of Prussia, was a very near relative of the Princess of Wales; and it was highly mortifying to her that the rules of etiquette prohibited her from welcoming her relative to her adopted country. Even the very individual who had announced himself to her as her future son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, was amongst the illustrious strangers then at the court of England, and yet from his society she was excluded.

The monarchs themselves were so much admired, and in return saw so much to admire in this country, that their visit was extended beyond the time originally fixed upon. It was, therefore, considered necessary to hold a drawing-room at St. James's; and as things of that nature should always be done on a large scale, an advertisement appeared, announcing that two drawing-rooms would be held; one of them was supposed to be for the purpose of introducing the Princess Charlotte. An opportunity now presented itself to the Princess of Wales of appearing at court, and, of course, of opening an introduction to the society of the illustrious visitors. Various conjectures were, however, in the mean time afloat,

as to the necessity of holding *two* drawing-rooms when one might suffice; and as it is necessary, on the grounds of supposed ignorance, that some positive cause should be established by the journalists of the day, for every action performed by any branches of the royal family, (which, by-the-bye, is no easy task) it was immediately ascertained that the reason of holding two drawing-rooms could be no other than to allow the Princess of Wales to appear at one drawing-room, without meeting her husband; and, *vice versa*, that he might appear at another court without meeting his wife—or, in other words, they were to personify the ingenious Dutch toy, in which, when the lady is within, the gentleman turns out; and when the latter, impelled by the density of the atmosphere, is obliged to enter, the lady briskly comes out at the door.

In the courtly circles, as the day appointed for the drawing-room approached, the conjectures were numerous, whether her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales would be present. Her intentions to that effect, were however, no sooner made known, than the following communication was made to her from the Queen, dated Windsor Castle, May 23, 1814.

The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales, that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states, that her majesty's intention of holding two draw

ing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare, that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it to be understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination, *not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.*

The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales, the impossibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at the drawing-rooms.

CHARLOTTE R.

This was indeed wormwood to the Princess of Wales; it conveyed a most cutting censure upon her conduct, at the same time conveying the tacit acknowledgment, that, although the country was convinced of her innocence, yet, that it was not so firmly established in the minds of *certain persons*, as to render her worthy of being received at court; and especially at a time when her own daughter was to be first presented.

To the note of her majesty her royal highness answered in the following manner:

MADAM,

I have received the letter which your majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public drawing-rooms, which will be held by your majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

I will not presume to discuss with your majesty, topics which must be as painful to your majesty as to myself.

Your majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard, with which the King was so kind as to honour me up to the period of his majesty's indisposition; which no

one of his majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself;—and that his majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation, by his public reception of me at his court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me. There I have since, uninterruptedly, paid my respects to your majesty. I am now without appeal, or protector; but I cannot so far forget my duty to the king, and to myself, as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room, to be held by your majesty.

That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your majesty's situation, I yield, in the present instance, to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your majesty, and shall not present myself at the drawing-rooms of next month.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inquire of your majesty, the reasons of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his royal highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection, I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience; even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe;—the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages, who will, in all probability, be assembled at your majesty's court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

I beseech your majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your majesty is the only person competent,—by acquainting those illustrious strangers with the motives of personal consideration towards your majesty, which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your majesty: and

that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation, which could render me unworthy of their society and regard.

Your majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from a suspicion of disrespect towards your majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from court, at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance.

I have the honour to be, your majesty's
Most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,
CAROLINE P.

Connaught-House, May 24, 1814.

Her majesty lost no time in replying to this energetic answer, as on the following day the Princess of Wales received the letter as under:

Windsor-Castle, May 25, 1814.

The Queen has received, this afternoon, the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her royal highness, not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both.

The Queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers, who may possibly be present at her court, the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her royal highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish, to this effect, unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence

CHARLOTTE R.

To the above letter, the Princess of Wales replied:—

The Princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the Queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her majesty, for her gracious condescension, in the willingness expressed by her majesty, to have communicated to the illustrious strangers, who will, in all probability, be present at her majesty's court, the reasons which have induced her royal highness not to be present.

Such communication, as it appears to her royal highness, cannot be less necessary, on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her royal highness to give to her motives; and the Princess of Wales, therefore, entreats the active good offices of her majesty upon this occasion, when the Princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood.

CAROLINE P.

Connaught-Place, May 26, 1814.

The queen replied on the following day:—

Windsor-Castle, May 27, 1814.

The Queen cannot omit to acknowledge the receipt of the Princess of Wales's note of yesterday, although it does not appear to her majesty to require any other reply than that conveyed to her royal highness's preceding letter.

CHARLOTTE R.

On the same day, the 29th, on which the Princess of Wales replied to the letter of the queen, she also transmitted a letter to the Prince Regent; it was as follows:—

SIR,

I am once more reluctantly compelled to address your royal highness; and I enclose, for your inspection, copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her majesty. It would be in vain for me to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your royal highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination, *never to meet me upon any occasion, either in public or private*. Of these your royal highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive, by my answer to her majesty, that I have only been restrained, by motives of personal consideration towards her majesty, from exercising my right of appearing before her majesty at the public drawing-rooms, to be held in the ensuing month.

But, Sir, lest it should be, by possibility, supposed that the words of your royal highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your royal highness, what circumstances can justify the proceedings you have thus thought fit to adopt.

I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness, of what you know,—that, after open persecution, and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal. Since his majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared innocent, I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

Sir, your royal highness may possibly refuse to read this letter; but the world must know that I have written it, and

they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank. Occasions, however, may arise, (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? I wave my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them; in order to relieve the queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your royal highness, not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.

Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; amongst whom, as I am informed, is the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected, of equal rank to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness on the peace of Europe. My daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire. This season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and, of all his majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented by your royal highness from appearing in my place, to partake of the general joy; and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection, permitted to every mother but me.

I am, Sir,

Your royal highness's faithful wife,

CAROLINE P.

Connaught-House, May 26, 1814.

Her royal highness now finding all remonstrance, all expostulation to be useless, determined to appeal to Parliament; and accordingly, on the 3d June, the day preceding the drawing-room, the Speaker acquainted the house, that since he had come to his place he had received a letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which, with the leave of the house, he would read.

Connaught-House, June 3, 1814.

The Princess of Wales desires Mr. Speaker will inform the House of Commons, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been advised to take such steps as have prevented her from appearing at court, and to declare his royal highness's fixed and unalterable determination never to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.

The proceedings of 1806 and 1807, and last year, are in the recollection of the house, as well as the ample and unqualified vindication of the princess's conduct to which those proceedings led.

It is impossible for the Princess of Wales to conceal from herself the intention of the advice which has now been given to the Prince Regent, and the probability that there are ultimate objects in view pregnant with danger to the security of the succession, and the domestic peace of the realm.

Under these circumstances, even if the princess's duty towards herself could suffer her to remain silent, her sense of what is due to her daughter, and to the highest interests of the country, compels her to make this communication to the House of Commons.

The Princess of Wales encloses copies of the corre-

spondence which has passed, and which she requests Mr. Speaker will communicate to the house.

The Speaker then said, that with the liberty of the house the papers should be read; which was done. They were copies of the letters which have been already inserted.

As Mr. Methuen was rising to bring forward the proposed motion on this subject, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers, which was immediately enforced.

The following is an abstract of the account of what passed in the House of Commons after the gallery was cleared of strangers.

Mr. Methuen, having expressed his consciousness of the arduous task he had undertaken, read some of the parts of the letter of her royal highness, and commented upon her situation. The honourable gentleman said that he had heard the charge of bad taste urged against her royal highness as a crime: but what had such a charge to do with her sufferings? The time chosen to proscribe her from court was particularly galling. He hoped that the necessary supplies to be granted by parliament for the ensuing marriage would be granted conditionally, that the marriage be a public one, and that the Princess of Wales appear at it with the consequence and splendour due to her situation. After some further observations, the honourable member moved,

"That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to pray his royal highness that he will be graciously pleased to acquaint this house by whose advice his royal highness was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in private or public,' as communicated by his royal highness to her majesty, together with the reasons submitted to his royal highness, upon which such advice was founded."

Mr. Martin seconded the motion.

Mr. Bathurst paid a tribute to the motives of the mover, but was of opinion that he had urged no argument to induce the House of Commons to agree to the motion. The main object of the motion was to know why the Princess of Wales was prevented being at court. Will parliament call upon the regent to declare who advised him not to see the princess? As for the charges of guilt, they were irresistibly refuted at a former period. This present case is one of mere court etiquette, arising from circumstances totally distinct from guilt. No guilt is charged; for what the honourable gentleman said is true; if it were so, she would not be permitted to see her daughter. The main question is, can the house interfere without mischief to all the parties concerned? He concluded with opposing the motion.

Mr. Whitbread spoke nearly as follows:—The speech of the right honourable gentleman in de-

fence of the advice he has given, has been like the advice itself, special, minute, wavering, assuming a right, a right to exclude, and acting as if he were conscious the party advised had no such right. He has treated this as being only an exclusion from an assembly, from a fête; but a positive exclusion the advisers dare not warrant, that was a proceeding too manly. It was an affront to be operated through the queen, consort of that monarch, who, when the king had the use of his faculties, had commanded her to receive the Princess of Wales at her court, as the symbol of her entire innocence; of her complete acquittal. This reception continued till the king's indisposition; and then the regent was advised to employ the queen, his mother, to banish the Princess of Wales from court. Could this advice have been risked had the king mentally existed? Oh, no! he should have thought that gentleman and his colleagues would have been eager in their advice to conciliate and to calm, to proclaim the innocence they had so often declared. But the reverse is the case. But if he questions the right of the Princess of Wales to appear where the king placed her, it is to be hoped that she will, notwithstanding the moderation she has evinced, accept the advice to appear at court; and then let us see who will advise that admittance be refused to her. As to stirring the question, I ask, who has stirred it?—Is it the person who vindicates her own innocence from unjust

and foul aspersions?—Has she complained that her near relations have been prevented from visiting her, that it has been intimated to all, that to visit her was to exclude them from the court?—To all the injuries she has patiently borne, she has submitted in silence. Where does the burden rest of agitating the question?—Upon those who have planned and advised this foul indignity and injustice. But the right honourable gentleman talks of this as being only an exclusion from a common assembly. Is it then nothing that her nephews, that her future son-in-law the Prince of Orange, who has so announced himself to her—her near relation, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the immortal Blucher, the companion of her father in arms,—is it nothing that they should remark the absence of the Princess of Wales, and to be told that it is for reasons undefined, and of which the regent alone continues the judge? Sir, under the circumstances of her situation, such infliction is worse than loss of life; it is loss of reputation; blasting to her character, fatal to her fame. But this thing we hear to-day: no man now dares to say she is guilty. All the charges, says the right honourable gentleman, were irresistibly upset. Now, as to an *event which sooner or later must happen, I mean the demise of the crown, is the Princess of Wales to be crowned? She must be crowned! Who doubts it? One hears it whispered abroad, a coronation is not necessary. I believe it is. Will the right honourable gentleman say*

it is not? He dares not say so; crowned she must be, unless there be some dark base plot at work, some black act yet to do, unless the Parliament consent hereafter to be made a party to some nefarious transaction. If it is their intention to try the question of divorce, let them speak out if such be their meaning. These proceedings materially affect the succession of the crown. Where is the limit to the inquiries after former transactions; these searches after trial and acquittal? Yet, after all the search, what have they found? Nothing, but what the right honourable gentleman terms an irresistible refutation of all accusation. Now, sir, if the right honourable gentleman has not a doubt of the Princess of Wales having a right to appear at court, the use of which she has at present consented to wave, I have only to add, that if she finds not protection in this house, the last refuge of the destitute and oppressed, it is to be hoped she will be advised to assert her right, and, however reluctantly, to dare the advisers of the regent directly to execute their intentions.

Mr. S. Wortley, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Elliot, were against the motion, on account of its irregular and unparliamentary form; and Mr. Methuen withdrew it, with the understanding that he should bring the question forward again, in such more eligible shape as might be suggested by his friends.

The immediate consequence of the exclusion of her royal highness from court, was an avowed

intention on the part of her friends to call upon parliament for that addition to her income, which might enable her to hold a court of her own with becoming dignity and splendour; or, in other words, to collect round her a party which were known to be decidedly hostile to the prevailing opinion of the court of St. James's. It cannot be a matter of question, whether this measure was attended with that sound policy which ought particularly to have distinguished every transaction in which the Princess of Wales was concerned, standing, as she did, upon a summit so exposed that the venomed shafts of malice and of calumny might reach her from every quarter.

The public were first apprized of any intention on the part of the friends of her royal highness to apply to parliament for an addition to her income, in order to enable her to support a separate state of splendour, by Mr. Methuen, who, on the 26th of June, in the House of Commons, expressed his great surprise that steps had not been taken to render unnecessary any further proceedings in that house in the case of the Princess of Wales. As this had not been the case, he must proceed in his motion, and he trusted that the house would not refuse its protection to an unprotected woman, who had been treated with such indignity. Her royal highness, on her marriage, was allowed 17,000*l.*, an addition to her own 5000*l.*, but this was reduced to 12,000*l.* on account of the prince's debts. She

had contracted, in consequence, some debts, which the prince paid, to the amount of nearly 50,000*l.* Being obliged to live on a less income than when she resided at Carlton-house, though she had an entire establishment to support, she resolved to reduce her expenditure, by keeping fewer servants, and giving up company. These sacrifices had accomplished her object, for she now did not owe a shilling. But was this a situation for a Princess of Wales! The prince had declared that he would never meet her again, in public or private; it was therefore every way proper, that her royal highness should be enabled to support the dignity of her high situation, as reconciliation seemed utterly hopeless. He concluded by moving, that the house, on the following Tuesday, proceed to take into consideration the correspondence communicated to it by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Lord Castlereagh declared his deliberate conviction, that these matters never could be brought forward so as to promote the interests of those for whose benefit they were intended. To have the private transactions of the royal family thus brought into parliament, could only keep alive differences which might otherwise be allayed. However much the circumstance was to be deplored, it was the fact, that a final separation had taken place between the prince and princess. In 1809, an instrument had been signed, which had the signatures not only of the immediate

parties, but of the king and his cabinet ministers. It was a formal deed of separation. The princess then declared her entire satisfaction with the provision made for her; but if, on account of the increased expenses of the times, a larger provision was required, he believed there would be no objection to such a parliamentary measure. Whatever might be the feelings of his royal highness in other respects, he was quite sure that it was never in his intention to visit them upon her in what regarded her pecuniary situation. In 1809, out of an income reduced to less than 70,000*l.* the prince had made her royal highness an allowance of 17,000*l.* a year—a sum larger than almost any other husband would have consented to have given. And notwithstanding all the calumnious reports abroad, he (Lord C.) was perfectly convinced that his royal highness harboured no feelings of a vindictive nature, and had no wish to disturb her royal highness in the enjoyment of her social feelings. He, for his part, was convinced, that in a country of truth and justice, like England, a time would arrive when character would triumph over all attacks! —He would conjure the house, by all the regard which they felt for a family which brought peace and liberty to this county, not to be made the instruments of degrading the royal authority, by allowing the names of that illustrious family to be bandied about, and dragged before the house, as some persons wished to do. Nothing

could grow out of such discussions but fresh bitterness.

Mr. Methuen, in explanation, said, that the noble lord had mistaken him, if he imagined that he meant to give up her royal highness's claims to justice, for an addition to her income, though he would withdraw his motion for the present.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the noble lord had not done justice to the prince, to parliament, or to the people, in describing the general feeling which prevailed as the result of a cabal. The princess's object was the assertion of her innocence, and the rescuing herself from persecution, not the obtaining of money. She called for justice, and would never consent to barter her rights to increase her income. Even if an increased allowance was resolved upon, was she to forego her right to be present at her daughter's nuptials, or her right to be crowned Queen of England? He should be glad to see an adequate provision made for her royal highness, but not at the expense of her rights—not as the purchase of silence. The noble lord complained that her royal highness's affairs were brought before the house; but the noble lord's colleague, Mr. Perceval, had determined to lay her complaints before the country in the most enlarged form. How could his lordship now arraign that conduct in others which his intimate associate had resolved upon?—As to the reconciliation of the parties, that now was not to be looked for. The present discussions, in

fact, would not have been revived, but for the wanton indignity offered to her royal highness through the channel of her majesty. These were indeed wounds for which no remedy could be found—mental vexations which no balm could heal. He trusted that the house would ever be ready to take up the cause of the highest as well as lowest person in the land; and that it would protect the princess in all her rights, present as well as future.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, denied that the illustrious visitors had been prevented paying their respects to her royal highness. To which Mr. Whitbread replied, that the impression on the public mind was totally different.

Mr. Stuart Wortley thought it was much better that there should be the means of expressing the public feeling in that house, and he therefore by no means regretted the agitation of the subject.

Mr. Tierney did not doubt the asserted general kindness of the regent; but of his particular kindness to the princess he must be allowed to have some doubts! The queen had chosen to make herself the instrument of a cruel and unprovoked insult on the princess, to which his majesty would never have consented. Advantage was thus taken of the king's incapacity. He believed that the royal personages lately in London had been requested not to visit the princess; at any rate, they abstained, knowing what they did, in compliance with etiquette. Thus forlorn, the princess

applied to parliament; and parliament having sanctioned her marriage with the prince, had become her guardian, and was bound to protect her. The house should not suffer their future queen to be insulted with impunity: they should protect her against secret advisers and cabals, and participate in the universal feeling.

Mr. Methuen withdrew his motion, upon understanding that some provision would be made for the Princess of Wales.

Whilst the friends of the Princess of Wales were thus employing their splendid talents in her defence, the public attention was particularly drawn to the approaching nuptials of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange, and the question began to be seriously agitated, whether on the marriage actually taking place, the illustrious father of the bride would be able to adhere to his resolution of never again meeting her mother in public or in private. The Princess Charlotte, with a laudable and becoming attention to the feelings of her mother, had often and decidedly declared, that the marriage should not take place without the presence of her mother; and it was well known that the nuptials could not be consummated without the presence of her father. Thus, from the differences of the royal pair, a marriage highly desirable in a political sense, was likely to be frustrated; and the zeal of the friends of the respective parties rose in

proportion as this desirable union was likely to be promoted or frustrated. Thus they who had been the staunch opponents of the Princess of Wales, would not have it considered, on any account, that the rupture of the marriage was occasioned by the lamentable dissensions of the parents of the Princess Charlotte; as that would involve a point of great national interest, namely, that of a matrimonial alliance, so favourable, so advantageous to the country in a political point of view, having been rejected on account of the private and personal differences of the royal pair. With these partisans, therefore, the dread which the Princess Charlotte felt at leaving the country, (one of the stipulations of her intended husband,) was the sole and only probable cause of the rupture of the marriage.

A very different complexion, however, was given to it by the other party, who in their turn declared that the marriage was positively and solely broken off by the Princess Charlotte requiring a recognised right to visit her mother without limit or restraint, and a similar right to receive her at her own house. In answer to which demand, the young prince declared himself willing to allow her royal highness to visit the Princess of Wales; making the right, however, subject to such limitation and restraint as *he* might think proper; but he would not *by any means* allow the Princess of Wales to be received at his house.

Without, however, forming a decided opinion as to which of the causes the rupture of the marriage was to be attributed, it is more than probable that the latter had the greater share in it; and no doubt whatever can exist that the Princess of Wales was treated with still greater acrimony by a particular party, in consequence of the firm belief, that her influence had been at work in persuading the Princess Charlotte to the resolution which she had adopted. But it was not only the Princess of Wales, but the Princess Charlotte, who felt the effects of the disappointment which was occasioned by the rupture of the marriage; for it was determined that the already limited intercourse with her mother should be still more confined, and that she should be henceforth surrounded with a new set of attendants, who were supposed to be not so much under the influence of the Princess of Wales.

One day, however, as the Princess of Wales was returning from Blackheath to Connaught-house, she was met by a messenger, bringing to her the distressing intelligence that the Princess Charlotte had flown from Warwick-house, and was then at Connaught-house, awaiting the arriva of her mother.

The Princess of Wales drove immediately to the House of Commons, and inquired for Mr. Whitbread, who happened at that time not to be in the House. She then hastened to the House of Lords and inquired for Earl Grey; but he was

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE

not in town. She then drove rapidly to Connaught-house, where her afflicted daughter communicated to her all the particulars of this most extraordinary transaction.

The consequences of this event have been so amply detailed in a cotemporary work,* that we shall here forbear from enlarging upon them; they, however, ultimately led to her departure from a country in which, since her arrival, she had experienced nothing but sorrow and mortification.

On the 4th July, the House of Commons went into a committee on the papers laid on the table respecting the Princess of Wales.

Lord Castlereagh then went into some details regarding the princess's pecuniary affairs, which he had before noticed. On the present occasion, he said he thought it would be desirable to raise her royal highness's income during the separation to the amount which it would reach in the event of another calamity (the death of the Prince Regent;) for it was not consistent with the interest or dignity of the royal family, nor was it indeed the province of parliament to entertain questions respecting differences in such quarters. He should therefore propose that a net income of 50,000*l.* per annum be paid to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, out of the consolidated fund, and that the public be indemnified

* Huish's Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte.

to the amount of the sum (22,000*l.*) now paid to the princess out of the income of the regent.

Mr. Whitbread said, that her royal highness had never authorized any one to make any proposition on the subject of increasing her income. She had been satisfied with her allowance. As to the "separation" alluded to by the noble lord, her royal highness was no party to the use of that word. Did the noble lord mean to found any legal measure on such a term, or to prevent her royal highness from the enjoyment of any of her just rights? The noble lord had spoken of the "generosity" which had been shown to her royal highness: but he should recollect, that when the princess left Carlton-house, she had to provide every domestic thing but some knives and forks, which were the only articles given to her.

Lord Castlereagh did not intend to found any argument on the statement he had made, yet he thought it just that the Prince Regent should have full credit for the exertions which he had made for the princess. He repeated, that never any husband had surrendered up so much for a wife as his royal highness had done; and that whatever was the cause or result of the separation, it had never been his intention to visit the princess with any pecuniary inconvenience.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had asked for protection, for mercy, for justice, from that house, for the Princess of Wales; but he had never asked for money, nor had it been ever con-

templated by the friends of her royal highness. When first she heard of the proposition, she said, "I shall not be allowed to starve in this country, I shall not be obliged to beg my bread, and I will not compromise my rights for any thing which can be offered to me." Whatever she accepts, it must be in the contemplation that she gives up nothing of rank, of dignity, and character, which by the grant of this separate and ample—too ample allowance, it is evident she holds in the eyes of all the nation. It is in contemplation whether her royal highness shall be admitted within that cathedral, where all of higher rank are to be admitted. If an application made on her behalf were refused, how would the nation brook this indignity? If there be one found to advise a denial—and if he intended not only to exclude her royal highness from the drawing-room—from matters of ceremony, but from saying her prayers with the nation—what a mere mockery will the proclamation of the prince and our resolutions be, if when we pray for forgiveness of our trespasses as we forgive others, there is one person shut out—not from forgiveness only, but from justice! As to the provision which is to be made by this vote, it is large—much larger than any of the friends of her royal highness could have contemplated, if any such idea had entered their minds. It is for her to consider, whether she thinks proper to accept the whole of it. I have no doubt that she will act

with dignity and propriety; and if she calls in advisers on the subject, I hope she will call in such as will support her in her own honourable ideas.

Mr. Canning said, that as the house had preserved one principle in the discussions, not to meddle in those things in which it could not properly come to a decision, so on the other hand her royal highness should not revise the decision of the committee, but that considering that all her claims were taken into consideration, and that by refusing a part of the grant she would lie open to the imputation of giving up some pecuniary advantage to be once more the subject of discussions in parliament, it would be most proper for her to acquiesce passively in the determination of the house.

The resolution was agreed to.

On the following day the Princess of Wales directed the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which was accordingly read:

Connaught-House, June 5, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales desires Mr. Speaker will acquaint the House of Commons, that she has received from Viscount Castlereagh, the copy of a resolution voted yesterday in a committee of the whole house, enabling his majesty to grant out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, the annual sum of 50,000*l.* for her maintenance; and the Princess of Wales desires Mr. Speaker will express to the House of Commons, her sincere thanks for this extraordinary and unsolicited mark of its munificence.—The Princess of

Wales, at the same time desires Mr. Speaker will inform the house of her deep regret, that the burthens of the people should be at all increased, on account of the circumstances in which she has been placed; and that she cannot consent to any addition to those burthens beyond what her actual situation may appear to require. That she therefore hopes the house will reconsider its resolution, for the purpose of limiting the income proposed to be settled upon the Princess of Wales to the annual sum of 35,000*l.* which will be quite sufficient, and will be accepted with the liveliest gratitude, as an unequivocal proof that the Princess of Wales has secured the good opinion and protection of the House of Commons.

No notice of this letter was taken until the 8th, when Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the house to the letter from the princess, in which her royal highness stated her wish not to receive the proposed 50,000*l.* but 35,000*l.* His lordship said he had made two communications on the subject to her royal highness, who had answered, that she was willing to accept the grant offered, as it was not clogged with any qualifications derogatory to her rights, nor an act of favour from the crown, but was an act of right and justice.—He therefore concluded that her royal highness had accepted the larger grant; but if the renunciation of a part of it was her royal highness's spontaneous wish, it was his duty not to vote the public money to a subject who was not inclined to receive it. If parliament however agreed to the diminution, he hoped that no person would be allowed on that account, at any future period, to

revive in that house discussions which were so painful to every one who felt a proper respect for the royal dignity.

Mr. Whitbread said, that her royal highness had answered the noble lord's letters in very general terms; but that when the princess consulted those persons with whom she was in the habit of advising, (himself among them), the sum was disapproved as being too large,—larger than was necessary,—larger than the noble lord ought to have proposed,—larger than he (Mr. W.) could vote for. Her royal highness then said, that she had not considered the amount of the sum; and he could state, that the princess gratefully accepted the 35,000*l.* a-year, as fully sufficient for all her purposes; and all he could add was, that whether the allowance was larger or smaller, it could not possibly make any difference in the state of things as they regarded her royal highness.

Lord Castlereagh said, he should be sorry to find that her royal highness had been advised to a line of conduct from that which her real feelings dictated.

Mr. Tierney (Lord Castlereagh having said something about the princess not incurring debts) observed, that he hardly thought it delicate or prudent in the noble lord to make allusions to royal debts. If however the subject was brought forward, he should not shrink from his duty in calling the attention of the house to the debts of

the other branches of the royal family. It was highly creditable to her royal highness that she had so much consideration for the public as to relinquish a part of the proposed grant.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the noble lord seemed to think that, because her royal highness's former adviser (Mr. Perceval) was dead, and because she had no longer the benefit of the advice of my lord Eldon and others, her royal highness was to be left without counsel and assistance. The true cause of all these "painful" discussions was, the indignity and injustice heaped upon the princess. Not a word respecting money had been uttered by her royal highness's advisers; but the vote of parliament proved that she was taken under its protection. The instant the reduction was hinted, her royal highness gave it her hearty concurrence.

The 35,000*l.* was then voted instead of 50,000*l.*

At no period of her life was the popularity of the Princess of Wales greater that it was at this moment. She had refused to add to the burthens of the nation, by the acceptance of the increased allowance which the Parliament had offered her; and although living in apparent seclusion, she was surrounded by men who had not only the ability but the power to defend her. In regard, however, to herself, her life was one continued tissue of vexation and grief. She saw herself the innocent means of disturbing the happiness of her

beloved daughter, and the imputation was openly cast upon her, that it was through her immediate influence that the Princess Charlotte was induced to break off her intended union with the Prince of Orange.

We will not here enlarge upon the secret machinations which were set on foot to harass and annoy the Princess of Wales, in every possible manner, and literally to hunt her from a country, to which she had been brought to fill the highest station in it, and which at this time contained the object in whom all the affections of her heart were centered.

The rumour of the intended departure of the Princess of Wales from this country, had long been floating in those circles in which priority of information is supposed to exist; but by the people at large it was discredited on various grounds, but more particularly in reference to the delicate situation in which her daughter then stood, not only in regard to family, but to political relations.

The public, however, were in a short time induced to attach some belief to the prevailing report of her royal highness's departure from this country, particularly by the following conversation which took place in the House of Commons on the 30th June, when Mr. Tierney, addressing himself to Lord Castlereagh, said, that it had been reported that her royal highness the Princess of Wales had made an application

through his majesty's ministers for permission to return to the Continent. Whether this was intended as a temporary visit to her brother, or as a permanent residence abroad, he could not contemplate it without regret. There might be a reason (which however he could not imagine without pain) that might warrant the temporary absence of her royal highness from this country. He and an honourable friend of his (not then present) had been the only two members, on that side of the house, who had taken an active part in the proceedings respecting the increased income of her royal highness; but if at the bottom of that proposition there existed any arrangement savouring of an understanding, that the public should be deemed to have paid the price of her royal highness's quitting this country, he solemnly protested that he had no hand in it.

Lord Castlereagh said, with respect to the honourable gentleman's questions, an honourable friend not then present (Mr. Whitbread) must be better acquainted with the intentions of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, than himself. All that he knew was, that her royal highness had signified to his majesty's ministers her intention of visiting the continent. He was persuaded that the house, in voting the addition to the income of her royal highness, had no design of imprisoning her royal highness to this country, or of preventing her from residing wherever her

pleasure or convenience might induce her to take up her abode.

Mr. Tierney said, the house must be surprised at the word imprisonment. He was sure that the house, in the recent grant, had never contemplated the departure of her royal highness from this country. The right honourable gentleman, (said Mr. Tierney) seems highly entertained at this declaration. Perhaps that gentleman could tell what were her royal highness's intentions. Mr. Tierney concluded with protesting against his majesty's ministers allowing her royal highness to quit the country without completely ascertaining what were her motives, and without taking measures to secure her early return.

Lord Castlereagh explained: and *Mr. Rose* said, that his mirth had been excited by the honourable gentleman so extravagantly identifying the House of Commons with himself.

Mr. Tierney said, that notwithstanding the imputations of the right honourable gentleman and his friends, there was not a thinking man in the island who would not feel alarm at the step her royal highness had been advised to take. With respect to his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) who had been described by the noble lord as being in possession of her royal highness's confidence, he had his honourable friend's authority for stating not only that he had not advised her royal highness to quit the country, but that he had most earnestly advised her not to do so.

It is most certain that the resolution of her royal highness to expatriate herself, was formed in direct opposition to the advice of those who had been her most zealous defenders; but it was the indignities to which she was exposed, and the strenuous arguments and powerful eloquence of her adviser (Mr. Canning), which induced her hastily to form the resolution of leaving the country, and to endeavour by travel to banish those recollections, and avoid those evils which continually tormented her in England. It cannot be questioned that this determination was made at a most unfortunate period, just after the illustrious potentates of Europe had visited this country, and had witnessed the exclusion of her royal highness from court; which, by the prevailing etiquette, prevented them paying her those respects which her distinguished rank demanded, and would, it was then thought, induce them to refuse her those honours to which, as Princess of Wales, she was entitled, in passing through or remaining at any of the courts or capital cities abroad. Notwithstanding, however, these untoward circumstances, her royal highness deemed any state preferable to the one she was then enduring, without any prospect of improvement, her royal friend (his late venerable majesty) being then mentally dead; and she was, therefore, induced to listen with the greater willingness to the arguments of her adviser.

In her last letter to Lord Liverpool, in which she announces her desire of going abroad, she

complains of the mortifications which she has met with in this country ever since she entered it, assuaged only by the affectionate protection she received from his majesty to the last hour of his mental intelligence; deprived of his countenance, she had no tie left but her daughter, and her society she was no longer permitted to enjoy. In this letter, she offers to resign the rangership of Greenwich-Park in favour of the Princess Charlotte; she wishes to keep her apartments in Kensington-Palace for a short time, and there were a few other requests, to all of which, a ready compliance was granted.

On the second of August, the Princess of Wales arrived at her house near Worthing, and the next evening she walked to that place, accompanied by her lady-in-waiting and attendants. She sat for nearly two hours on the beach; the moon-beams danced on the waves, the pleasure-boats glided at her feet, and at a distance lay at anchor the Jason frigate, which in a few days, was to convey her to her natal shores. It was a scene at once solemn and sublime, and her royal highness appeared so lost in contemplation, that she heeded not the frequent admonitions of her attendants, warning her to retire from the beach on account of her health. On a sudden, she started up, and exclaimed, "Well! grief is unavailing when fate impels me." Throwing a shawl around her, she left the beach; but turning suddenly round, she threw a hasty glance over the

ocean, and exclaiming, "'Tis a glorious sight," hastened home.

On the 9th, a great crowd was assembled on the Steyne at Worthing, to witness the departure of the Princess of Wales. She arrived at the Steyne hotel about half-past four; when the Hon. Captain King, the commander of the Jason, not being ready to receive her on her arrival, she drove off with Lady Charlotte Lindsay, another lady, and Austin, her *protégé* boy, to South Lancing, situate about two miles from Worthing, apparently wishing to elude the people, who were waiting to see her embark. After she had left Worthing, Captain King appeared on the beach, got into a small boat, and about half way between the shore and the Jason, was met by his own barge, which proceeded to Lancing for the Princess; her female domestics were taken on board from Worthing. The princess had one conspicuous article among her baggage, *viz.* a large tin case, on which was painted, in white letters, *Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to be always with her.* Her royal highness had on a dark cloth pelisse, with large gold clasps, and a cap of velvet and green satin, of the Prussian hussar costume, with a green feather. She and her suite were conveyed to the barge in a small pony cart, driven by her own coachman. All the carriages and horsemen which had been at the beach at Worthing, and as many pedestrians as could, followed her royal highness to

Lancing. When on board the barge, she kissed her hand to the females, who waved their handkerchiefs. The farewell was a silent one, seemingly as if it was feared the shouts might be misconstrued. On quitting, however, the English shore, she was so much affected, that she fainted in the arms of her attendants, and continued very low in spirits. Next day, the weather being very fine, she became gradually composed. On the 12th, as the ship passed the Texel, a royal salute was, at the request of the princess, fired in honour of the Prince Regent's birth-day, and she drank his health after dinner. In the evening her royal highness ordered a ball, which she led off with Sir William Gell, and the dancing was kept up to a late hour. When she quitted the Jason, the yards were manned, a royal salute was fired, and the officers and crew gave her nine cheers. The Princess continued waving her hands towards the ship, until it was out of sight.

On the morning of the 16th, the Princess of Wales arrived at Hamburgh with her suite, under the name of the Countess of Wolfenbüttel. Every where during her passage, she was received by crowds of people, with all the attention and respect due to her illustrious rank.

The suite of her royal highness on leaving England, consisted of Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and Lady Elizabeth Forbes, as her maids of honour; Mr. St. Leger, Sir William Gell, and the hon. Keppel Craven, were her chamberlains;

the latter gentleman was at Paris at the time of her royal highness's departure, but she wrote to him, directing him to repair to Brunswick, in order to accompany her to Italy; her equerry was Captain Hesse; her physician Dr. Holland; her major domo Mr. Sicard, and her messenger Mr. Hieronymous. To these were added a few domestics, which constituted the whole of her royal highness's suite.

The first evening of her arrival at Hamburgh, she visited the theatre, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the audience. On the following morning she set out at an early hour for Brunswick, and on her approaching that city, her feelings are represented to have been too violent for her to restrain them. She burst into a flood of tears, for it was the scene of her early years, of early pleasures; and since her departure from it, she had experienced little more than sorrow and mortification in their most aggravated sense. She was met at a short distance from Brunswick by his Serene Highness the Duke. A general illumination took place by the delighted inhabitants, some of whom had known her as an infant, and many of whom had received from her the most endearing marks of personal attachment. It happened to be the duke's birth-day; the festivities and rejoicings were unusually great, and the whole of the public authorities were ready at the palace to receive her royal highness. It was at Brunswick that some of her royal highness's

suite left her, and it was attempted afterwards to be proved that this partial and temporary abandonment of her suite was to be attributed solely to the laxity of conduct which her royal highness evinced, but which was afterwards satisfactorily refuted by the individuals themselves. Mr. St. Leger did not accompany her royal highness further than Brunswick, but it was ill health alone which induced him to withdraw himself from the suite of her royal highness. Lady Charlotte Lindsay repaired to Spa to join her sister Lady Glenbervie, but her Ladyship rejoined her royal highness at Naples; and at a future period, when the other individuals who composed her suite, withdrew from her service, it was entirely owing to ill health, or to their family affairs not permitting them to remain at a distance from their country.

The stay of her royal highness at Brunswick comprised a period of about eleven days, during which time the interest which she excited, and the general attention which were shewn, must have been highly gratifying to her feelings.

On the 29th, she left Brunswick, and arrived at Frankfort on the Maine, on the 3d of September, under the title of the Countess of Cornwall.

Her royal highness remained two days at Frankfort, during which time she visited the most remarkable objects, not only in the town, but its vicinity. She spent several hours at Bingen, celebrated for its memorable battle; and

from the heights of which one of the most beautiful prospects presents itself, which can charm the eye of the traveller. It was in fact the enjoyment of this beautiful scene which exposed her royal highness to some temporary embarrassment, and which would perhaps not have been easily removed, had not her real rank been known, and that the title of the Countess of Cornwall, was an assumed one. Returning to the city, her royal highness found that she had protracted her absence too long, for the gates were all shut, and it was necessary, before she could be admitted, to send to the governor for his sanction. It may be easily supposed that the sanction was not long withheld, for the governor himself repaired instantly to the gate, and admitted her royal highness into the city.

On leaving Frankfort she proceeded to Strasburg, at which place she arrived on the 6th of September. She remained here several days, visiting the public places, promenades, *&c.*, and appeared highly delighted with the amusements and exhibitions which she witnessed. The generals and prefects of the department of the Lower Rhine, marshal the Duke of Valmy, and the mayor of Strasburg, had severally the honour of paying their respects to her royal highness.

In the latter end of September, after visiting Berne, Palermo, Lausanne, and some other places, she arrived at Geneva, where the *ci devant* empress of France, Maria Louisa, had just arrived before

her. These illustrious princesses, alike unfortunate, but from very different causes, imbibed a strong predilection for each other; and the princess of Wales, after visiting the ex-empress, invited her to dine. Dr. Holland, and Mr. C—— C—— were appointed to act as gentlemen ushers on this occasion. The conversation between the illustrious personages was carried on with great spirit and feeling; and towards the close of the evening, the empress did the company the honour of singing two Italian airs, remarking, that she had no natural taste for music, but that Napoleon being passionately fond of it, she had cultivated the science since her marriage with considerable assiduity. She then proposed to the Princess of Wales to join her in a favourite glee, which was performed by these illustrious personages with great grace, feeling, and effect.

The ex-empress gave an entertainment in honour of the Princess of Wales, at which some of the most distinguished English families were present. Her royal highness was particularly delighted during her residence at Geneva, with the society of the celebrated Sismondi, author of some very valuable works, particularly on Italian literature, and with Monsieur de Saussure, brother of the famous De Saussure who first reached the summit of Mont Blanc.

Indeed, it appeared to be the aim of her royal highness, during her residence abroad, to court the society of men of talent and erudition; during

her short residence at Strasburg, she was heard to declare, that she experienced more real satisfaction in the society of Professor Schweighausen, author of the celebrated edition of Athenæus, and since then engaged in the republication of Herodotus, than she ever felt in the most magnificent fete.

It will be necessary in this place, in order to connect the chain of events which had such a decided influence upon the fate of the Princess of Wales, to cast a retrospective glance upon a particular circumstance which took place previously to the departure of her royal highness from this country. Amongst the many illustrious characters who visited England, on the establishment of the general peace, was Leopold George Christian Frederic, Prince of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld. It would be superfluous to enter into a minute description of the circumstances attending the attachment which subsisted between this prince and the late lamented Princess Charlotte, as they have been amply detailed in a cotemporary work;* but as this attachment was by no means a secret to the Princess of Wales, it was with feelings of no common interest that her royal highness, during a short stay that she made at Bern, received a visit from her imperial highness, the grand duchess Anne Feodoroffna, †

* *Vide* The Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte.

† This princess was christened by the name of Juliana Henri-

consort of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, and sister of Prince Leopold, but who, from the inhuman treatment which she received from her Russian husband, was obliged to separate herself from him, and return to her native country.

Nothing can be more remote from our intention, than to draw a comparison between the husband of the Princess of Wales, and that of the princess of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld. The actual cause which led to the separation of the former is, and will perhaps ever remain known only to a few; whereas the cause of the separation of the latter, is known to every one who is in the slightest degree acquainted with the history of Russian court. It would be comparing the most polished gentleman to an ourang outang, to compare the illustrious husband of the Princess of Wales to the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia; for certainly no two characters of greater dissimilarity ever existed in civilized society. A similarity of fate, however, under whatever circumstances it may have been produced, naturally attracts individuals to each other; and certainly no two individuals of illustrious rank ever met in a foreign country, who independently of consan

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etta Ulrica; but the ritual of the Greek church demanding, that before being received into it, she should be baptized again, the ceremony took place previously to her marriage, when she received the name of Anne Feodoroffna.

guinity, had greater cause to sympathize with each other than the Princess of Wales, and the Grand-duchess of Russia. Both were separated from their husbands, and under circumstances of the most unprecedented nature; but rumour, which is in general a march in advance of truth, goes so far as to state, that this meeting of her royal highness with the sister of the future husband of her daughter, was not accidental; and that certain arrangements were then entered into which were shortly after carried into effect, to the manifest annoyance and discomfiture of many long-headed politicians in this country.

Whatever, however, may have been the nature of the deliberations of this female congress, it is most certain, that the meeting imparted an uncommon degree of pleasure to her royal highness, and instilled a balm into several wounds which were then fresh and bleeding.

Italy being the country which her royal highness had fixed upon for her residence, she proceeded thither at easy stages, and on the 9th of October she arrived at Milan, and was received with the highest honours. On the 17th, towards the mid-day *il campo di marto* was crowded to witness the military parade, in which infantry and cavalry were to manœuvre and fire volleys in honour of her royal highness, who was seated on the most elevated spot of a spacious area prepared for that purpose. She afterwards rode along the ranks amidst the acclamations of the surrounding

multitude, amongst which were distinguished some shouts of liberty and independence, as if her presence had re-kindled the half-extinguished hopes which the Italians entertained of being relieved from their political bondage by the hands of the British nation. In the evening she visited the theatre, attended by Count Bellegarde and all the officers of his Etat Major. The theatre was most brilliantly illuminated, *à giorno*. On the entrance of her royal highness the curtain drew up, and the ballet was performed by Scotch girls and peasantry, all analogous to the circumstances of the moment. The concourse of people, which was immense, continued during the performance, to testify their delight at the presence of the princess, who several times descended into the ridotto, and bowed to the company in the most graceful manner. The literati of the country also waited upon her royal highness to testify their respect and homage.

It was during the stay of her royal highness at Milan that she laid the foundation stone to those disgraceful proceedings which have tarnished the character of this country, and which posterity will speak of as a scandal to the age in which they were transacted.

In order, however, to place this most important part of her majesty's life in its true and genuine colours, it will be necessary to take a slight survey of the causes which immediately led to it, and which at a future period, gave her enemies a

powerful instrument in their hands towards effecting their infamous designs.

It has been already stated, that of the individuals who composed her majesty's suite, (and they were such persons as should be about an individual of her exalted rank, being connected with some of the most distinguished families in the kingdom), two of them, Mr. St. Leger, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, left her royal highness in Germany. It was not possible, therefore, for her enemies to assign *that reason* for the retirement of those persons from the suite of her royal highness, which was afterwards assigned for the retirement of almost the whole of the suite who accompanied her royal highness from England.

The plan which her royal highness had laid down for herself, was to visit not only the south of Europe, but also the more eastern countries, and to extend her travels even to Asia and Africa. It became, therefore, necessary for her to increase her suite, and particularly with that description of persons who had been accustomed to travel, and who had

> ——— Seen many cities
> And the manners of many men.

Amongst the numerous persons recommended to her royal highness, was one Bartolomo Pergami, and he eventually succeeded in obtaining the situation of cabinet courier, an officer intrusted with despatches of great importance, and usually a person entitled to particular confidence. He was a man acquainted with different languages;

accustomed to travel, and deemed by those with whom he was acquainted, to possess extensive information; added to which, he was of a respectable family, which by unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances, had been reduced from a state of opulence to a situation of comparative poverty.

It was not from the mire, as many busy and ignorant people pretend, that her royal highness exalted Mr. Bartolomo Pergami. His family formerly were rich, and the honourable marriages of his three sisters prove this truth. The first was married to Count Oldi, the second to M. Severgrini, of an ancient family at Cremona; and the third to M. Martini de Lodi, brother of the ex-Secretary-General of the Captaincy of Padua, when commanded by the Baron de Goez. M. Pergami, the eldest son, soaring beyond his bad fortune, and recollecting the past honourable condition of his family, embraced a military life, and was attached to the etat-major of the troops commanded by General Count Pino in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, as attested by the following declaration of General Major Galimberti.

I declare that M. le Baron Bartolomo Pergami, of Cremona, Knight of Malta, has served in the etat-major of the troops commanded by his Excellency Count Pino, lieutenant-general, to whom I was the chief of the etat-major in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814.

(Signed) Le General-Major GALIMBERTI.

Milan, Nov. 1, 1816.

Seen and certified by me, Lieut.-Gen. Count PINO.

It is well known that Pergami received an offer of the brevet rank of Captain from the unfortunate Joachim, king of Naples, which he refused in order to remain in the service of her royal highness.

It has been considered necessary to give this succinct account of this now celebrated individual, as from the supposed improper intercourse of her royal highness with him, emanate the most scandalous proceedings which ever disgraced the tribunals of this, or any other country.

Her royal highness having spent some time at Milan, departed for Rome, at which place she arrived towards the latter end of October.

It must have been highly gratifying to her royal highness, after the serious charges which had been brought against her in this country, to find that they were wholly discredited at the generality of the foreign courts, at which she was always received in the most distinguished and flattering manner. At Rome, her arrival was no sooner made public, than she was visited by the ex-King and Queen of Spain, and the Queen of Etruria with her children. On the 2d November she had an audience of the Pope, who received her with the greatest affability, and with all the respect due to her rank. The same day her royal highness visited the Vatican, the Prince Canino, and the celebrated Canova. The Prince Canino, on the 3d, gave a brilliant fête to her royal highness.

We shall have occasion to contrast this con-

duct with that which was observed towards her royal highness, when on the decease of his late majesty, she became Queen Consort of England.

Her majesty's stay at Rome was not of long duration, and on the 9th of November she arrived at Naples, where she was received with distinguished honour. The king met her at a short distance from the city, and the illustrious personages entered it about five in the afternoon, in the king's carriage, amidst the loudest acclamations. A guard of honour from the royal guard was stationed at the princess's residence. On the 17th the King of Naples visited the school of Mars at Aversa, where his majesty waited the arrival of her royal highness. The king invited her royal highness to a collation, which invitation she accepted, and about four o'clock these illustrious personages took the road to the capital. The princess sat in the king's carriage on his right hand; all the inhabitants of the villages on the road from Aversa to Naples, preceding them and hailing their monarch and their royal visitor with loud and long-continued acclamations.

It was during this visit of her royal highness to Naples, that the first charge was made against her royal highness of an adulterous intercourse with Pergami, and it was chiefly formed on the fact of the protégé of her royal highness, William Austin being interdicted from sleeping any longer in the apartment of her royal highness, which interdiction was construed by her accusers to amount

to a positive proof, that it was for the sole purpose of enabling her royal highness to carry on her adulterous intercourse with greater freedom and security.

This charge, however, like the rest, when it came to be thoroughly sifted, was proved to be wholly groundless; but another, and a still more weighty one, was brought against her during her stay at Naples, and which originated at a masquerade which her royal highness gave to the King of Naples; or as the Attorney-General minced it to the *person at that time filling the Neapolitan throne.* The masked ball was given at a house belonging *to the person who filled the Neapolitan throne,* and her royal highness was charged by her accusers with having assumed several characters, in which she was always accompanied by Pergami. But this was only to be regarded as the prelude to scenes of a more atrocious nature.

Pergami was represented to have left this ball at an early hour, but for what purpose not one of the renowned Italian witnesses could give any information. Pergami being gone, it appears that the ball had no longer any charms for her royal highness—there was no longer any magnetic influence to induce her to stop, and she hastened home after Pergami. Here her royal highness is represented to have entreated—to have supplicated—to have implored—and to have urged him strongly to return; but no, he was resolute—he was sulky—he treated all her prayers with con-

tempt—he would not return; and her royal highness, displeased and dispirited, was obliged to return alone to the ball in the most disconsolate state.

If all England, and the whole civilized world, had not the incontrovertible proof before their eyes that such charges had been actually brought against her royal highness, and attempted to be substantiated by witnesses, it could only be regarded as the mischievous fiction of some visionary brain, or the base invention of some dastardly wretches to further some unlawful purposes.

Every action of her royal highness, passive or active, was construed to have some reference to her intercourse with Pergami. If persons of distinction called upon her in the morning, she was accessible to none of them; and why?—because she preferred the society of Pergami.

If her royal highness went to bed rather earlier than usual, it could not possibly have any other cause, than the society of Pergami.

In fine, this Pergami appeared to be the pivot round which her royal highness moved, and which appeared to possess some attractive influence of so strong a nature, that her royal highness could not emancipate herself from it. The manner, however, in which the charges against her royal highness, were met and refuted, particularly in regard to her conduct during her stay at Naples, is too well known to require any comment.

Her royal highness remained in Naples from

November to March. She not only found the expense of living there too great for her, but certain great political changes were then about taking place, which she evidently saw would render her stay in that city unpleasant, not only to herself, but to those who were principally concerned in the projected changes. Indeed, the finances of her royal highness were at this time in rather a depressed state; for it is certain, that with perhaps a greater share of generosity than of prudence, she advanced her brother during her stay at Brunswick, 15,000*l*., for which a bond was given.

On the death of the Duke this bond became the subject of litigation in the court of chancery, as her royal highness proceeded against the trustees of her late brother, Count Munster and the Earl of Liverpool, for the recovery of the money lent, when a most singular attempt was made to prove the bond a forgery. The claim of her royal highness was invalidated, and the whole of this extraordinary affair still remains enveloped in an impenetrable mystery.

Considerable stress has been laid in regard to the conduct of her royal highness at this period, from the circumstance of the retirement of almost the whole of her English suite; which has been attributed solely to the disgust which they entertained at the conduct of her royal highness. It must, indeed, be confessed, that from some particular cause, the whole of her suite appear to have

been smitten at the same time, with the desire of retiring from the service of her royal highness; and that owing to pretexts of ill health, fears real or pretended of long journeys and the Turkish plague, home sickness, the desire of seeing friends and relatives, and other motives sincere and otherwise, her royal highness was deserted, and alone. Calumny, which in spite of notorious facts would represent her royal highness as the cause of the absence of the English, ought then to be silent, and not seek to diffuse injurious suspicions under new forms, to have it believed that antipathy on the part of her royal highness, a wish to remove impertinent spies, or the little esteem entertained for her by the English, induced her to send them all away from her court.

The situation of her royal highness on her leaving Naples, was in regard to her suite, not the most pleasant. She found herself without an English chamberlain, Sir William Gell and the honourable Keppel Craven, having both left her.

Not being able to replace her English suite by others of the same nation, and finding herself in an isolated state, she saw herself obliged to form an Italian court. The Marquis Counsellor Ghisglieri recommended several ladies to her acquaintance, amongst whom was the Countess of Oldi, a lady of great merit; and who, in consequence of her fidelity to her royal highness, has been most abundantly bespattered with the feculent mud of calumny.

On her majesty quitting Naples she proceeded towards Rome. She remained, however, some time at Civita Vecchia, and afterwards embarked for Genoa, leaving in the course of her voyage, Lady Charlotte Lindsay at Leghorn. At Genoa her royal highness found Lady Glenbervie, her former lady of honour, with her lord, who remained with the Princess seven weeks. The Princess also sent for Captain Hownam from England to be her private secretary, and he found her at Genoa. The Clorinde frigate brought Lady Charlotte Campbell and family, consisting of six young ladies to Genoa from Nice; and Lady Charlotte remained with her royal highness until their arrival the following May at Milan.

During the stay of her royal highness at Genoa, Pergami still filled the situation of courier, and in her majesty's aquatic excursions on board the Clorinde, he always waited at her table. It was observed by those who were afterwards paid for making their observations, that the intimacy between her royal highness and Pergami continued unchanged; and that the freedoms in which he indulged increased. He frequently took the liberty of withdrawing from the menial services it was his duty to perform, and accompanied her majesty in all her rides and walks about Genoa. They were said to breakfast together in the same apartment, in a retired part of the house; and other circumstances were reported, which left no

doubt on the minds of *certain* people, that the most indecorous intimacy subsisted between her royal highness and Pergami.

As calumny, however, is not very nice in the choice of the food with which it satiates its ever craving appetite, a circumstance was at this time greedily seized upon to prove not only the ascendancy which this Pergami had obtained over her royal highness, but also the degraded state to which she had reduced herself, by the particular favour which she shewed him.

To those who were acquainted with the warm and affectionate disposition of the heart of her royal highness, no wonder was excited at the time when she took the infant son of the Austins under her protection; although it is too well known to what constructions upon her conduct she laid herself open at the time, and the means which were employed to convict her of the guilt. The failure of her enemies in this point, was, however, so complete, that it excites no little wonder how they could venture a second time to accuse her of a similar act, and to attempt to bring home to her the damning fact of her having been again a mother. Such, however, was the case; although candour obliges us to confess, that with the knowledge which her royal highness possessed of her being surrounded with spies, she did not act in that circumspect and guarded manner which her peculiar circumstances so imperiously demanded. This conduct, however, may

have arisen from the consciousness of the integrity and purity of her actions, and that it was only the most deliberate malice and detraction which could colour them with the blackest hues of guilt and vice.

The circumstance to which we now allude was the adoption of Victorine, the infant child of Pergami, and which, as it was not born in wedlock, the probability of the story run, that it was not Pergami's child, but it *might* be the offspring of her royal highness herself, and now introduced into her family as the reputed child of Pergami. The mother of it, it is true, was not forthcoming, nor was she received into the family of her royal highness; no more were the parents of William Austin—but still the burthen of the accusation against her royal highness rested on the knowledge which she possessed that Pergami was a married man, and that the child which she wished to take under her protection was his by some illicit connexion. This was, certainly, some garbage for the friends of detraction to feed upon; and it must be allowed, that in the charges brought subsequently against her royal highness, her accusers made the most of it, and denounced it as an irrefragable proof of her criminality. Like all the other charges brought against her royal highness, the foregoing turned out to be a bubble blown from the mouth of calumny, and it burst immediately that it was touched by the magic wand of truth.

At Genoa her royal highness was joined by Capt. Hownam, of the royal navy, who afterwards espoused her cause so valiantly with Baron Ompteda; and it may be necessary, in justification of her royal highness, to notice in this place the singular situation in which she was placed at this time in regard to her suite.

The princess, finding herself without an English chamberlain, wrote to Mr. St. Leger to join her at Genoa with his family, at the same time offering the post of maid of honour to his daughter. Her royal highness despatched many letters to press this arrangement, but he declined, alleging his ill health as the reason. The princess then offered a place to Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, who were at Naples, but they also refused, pleading the different purpose of their travelling. From the same motives of health, Mr. William Rose, the brother of the English minister at Berlin, refused to join her royal highness. Mr. Davenport also refused, saying that he must return to England. In the same way Mr. Hartop, cousin to Mr. Brougham, set out for England to see his family. At Naples her royal highness was obliged to part with Dr. Holland; with Mr. North, brother of Lady Charlotte Lindsay; with Mrs. Falconet, the wife of her banker, who wished to visit her children in Switzerland. Mr. North and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, left the princess at Leghorn to return to their parents in England. At Genoa the princess found Lady Glenbervie,

her former lady of honour, with her lord, who remained with the princess seven weeks. The Clorinde frigate brought Lady Charlotte Campbell and family, consisting of six young ladies, to Genoa from Nice. The princess engaged a lodging for them and their governess at her own expense, while Lady Charlotte remained with her at her palace.

When the princess departed for Milan, the above family accompanied her, her royal highness paying the expenses of their journey and table. Some weeks passed away, when Lady Charlotte received a letter from her cousin Mrs. Damer, and departed to join her at Lausanne.

Lady Charlotte Campbell, hoping to become the heir of her cousin, to whom she was moreover under many obligations, and leaving the princess suddenly, her royal highness offered to take her eldest daughter as a maid of honour—she refused, which was accounted for by the young lady's marriage a few months afterwards to Sir William Cumming. The princess was then in a new embarrassment to obtain an English lady, being always solicitous to have English about her. She therefore made similar proposals to Lord and Lady Malpas, then at Milan; but they were rejected. Lord Cholmondeley had gained the confidence of the Regent many years ago, by his rare virtues and accomplishments; but his son, Lord Malpas, less careful of money, had shewn sufficient energy five years before to refuse figur-

ing as one of the zoiluses of the court, and it was on this account, and not to offend his father or the Prince Regent, that he declined accepting the offer of the princess.

After so many desertions and refusals on the part of the English, her royal highness saw herself under the necessity of forming a court of Italians. On this point her enemies argue, that considering the high rank which she occupied—considering that she was in the situation of expecting soon to be Queen Consort of this country, she would have been anxious to have had constantly about her person, some English ladies of distinction; or at least, that she would have looked out for ladies of a similar rank in her native country of Brunswick, or of that part of the continent in which she resided; and it may be asked in return, was it owing to her royal highness that she had not English ladies attached to her person? were not applications made to every English lady of rank and character, whom she met with on her travels? and was not either a frivolous or real excuse given for not accepting the offer of her royal highness? It does not require the most acute penetration to discover the reason of the refusal which was given in many instances—it was well known that the acceptance of any situation under her royal highness, would be regarded in a certain quarter as a marked indignity; and who that has basked in the sunshine of favour, or been allowed to approach the source whence all

honours, titles, and emoluments flow, would voluntarily turn their back upon it, for the mere honour of following a discarded princess in her rambles over Europe. But in order to stifle the calumny which was circulated respecting the Italian court of her royal highness when she saw herself deserted by the English, we will give the names of a few who composed it; and more able and honourable men are not to be found in any court, and particularly in one in which it is to be presumed, that none but honourable men ought to be admitted.

The physician of her royal highness was Dr. Mochetti, of Como, formerly professor of botany, agriculture, and natural history; the author of many esteemed productions, forming part of the records of various academies, of which he is a member. This gentleman is well known to the republic of letters by his skill as a physician, and his name, which is celebrated in Italy, is not unknown to foreigners. Dr. Mochetti attended her royal highness in a part of her travels.

The first equerry of her royal highness was the Chevalier Chiavini, of a noble and opulent family of Cremona. He is as estimable for his integrity of character and cultivation of mind, as for his noble and dignified manners.

Her royal highness, honoured with her particular confidence, the Chevalier Tomassia, prefect of a department under the late government of Italy. His intimate knowledge of the Belles

Lettres, of philosophy, of politics, statistics, and public economy, are well known in Italy, by various useful works which have given him a distinguished place among learned men. He thus merited all the esteem and consideration with which he was honoured by her royal highness; as did also the distinguished professors, Count Volta and M. Configliachi. In the same manner, M. Cavelletti, formerly equerry to the Emperor Napoleon, and the Chevalier Vassali, both persons of high consideration, had frequently the honour to attend the court of her royal highness.

Of such persons was the Italian court of the Princess of Wales composed; and it were to be wished that every prince or monarch, whether travelling by land or by sea, was surrounded by men of such unblemished character, and of minds so highly gifted and enlarged.

It is nevertheless true, that several members of Pergami's family were attached to the court of her royal highness. M. Louis Pergami presided over her household, and M. Valloti Pergami, formerly under prefect at Cremona, was comptroller of disbursement; the Countess of Oldi, sister of Pergami, was lady of honour to her royal highness, against whom the only charge that can be made, is, that she has been unfortunate, which certainly, in the eyes of many persons, is a great and glaring misdemeanor, and sufficient to privilege them to set the banddogs of detraction loose upon her.

Her royal highness did not stay long at Milan, but it was at this place where she became acquainted with Mr. Burrell, a son of Lord Gwydir, and being always disposed to have English about her person, she proposed to Mr. Burrell to remain a few months with her, and in consequence thereof, he accompanied her royal highness to Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Venice; but not being disposed, on account of his health, to undertake a long voyage by sea, which her royal highness had then in agitation, he left her at Como, in the month of August, at the house of the Marchioness Villani, in the Borgo Vico.

On leaving her royal highness, Mr. Burrell went to Brussels; and it was here that White, one of his servants, employed himself in the basest manner, in circulating the most ridiculous and exaggerated stories of various transactions which had taken place in the house of her royal highness. It was at the great Inn in Brussels, that White propagated these stories about her royal highness, relating them in a particular manner to the servants of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, who were then on their route to England. These tales, amplified and exaggerated by travelling, soon became the topic of conversation at the court of Pall-Mall, and hence arose the idea of sending Lord Stewart, the brother of Lord Castlereagh, to Milan, to investigate the truth of the reports which were then in circulation, to the great prejudice of the Princess of Wales; and

from this mission ultimately sprung forth the ever celebrated and never to be forgotten Milan Commission, which, in regard to its results, will stand recorded in the annals of England, as an event disgraceful to the government which sanctioned it, and an everlasting stigma upon those who were the chief actors in it.

During the residence of her royal highness at Venice, she resided at the principal hotel; and it was here that the scene of the gold chain was represented to have taken place. Pergami had one day waited at table upon her royal highness, and after the dinner was over, she was observed by one of the domestics of the inn, to take a gold chain from her neck, and put it on the neck of Pergami, on which he withdrew the chain from his neck, and replaced it on the person of her royal highness. This placing and replacing lasted some time, and this circumstance was particularly mentioned to shew the influence which Pergami had acquired over his royal mistress; and it was generally stated, that after Mr. Burrell had left her royal highness, and there were no longer any English in her train, the familiarities of her royal highness became greater with all her servants, and that she often joined in their games.

How this, however, could be imputed as an offence to her royal highness, must be decided by the fastidious feelings of those who wrap themselves in the mantle of pride, and who think all

affability and condescension to be a degradation of themselves, and a stain upon their honour. It was, however, pompously enlarged upon by her accusers, and that which her royal highness considered only as innocent mirth, was converted by the jaundiced eye of envy and malice, into positive licentiousness.

Her royal highness had purchased of the Countess Pino, a pleasant casino upon the banks of the lake of Como, at a short distance from that place. A delicious climate—the surrounding country varied and beautiful; a house, the front of which is immediately upon the lake; gardens which seem almost suspended in the air—form altogether a scene of enchantment. Her royal highness had an avenue of trees planted at her own expense, of nearly two miles in length, reaching from Como to her house. Generous and splendid in her ideas, she formed of the house of a private individual, a royal palace; peace, order, and harmony reigned in her family; it could scarcely be believed that it was the court of a great princess. Many persons were astonished she did not receive the nobility of the neighbouring town; but her royal highness, who by principle does not love etiquette, who wishes to be at liberty and free from restraint, and whose mode of life is simple, almost amounting to monotonous, never sought the society of any noble; at the same time those who were presented to her were never ill received.

A select society of persons of probity, though

not composed of the great, and for that very reason the great were her enemies; a table where gaiety presided; music, dramatic performances in her own private theatre; walking, riding on horseback or in the carriage, or rowing in a gondola; these were the innocent pleasures which she enjoyed tranquilly at her casino, quitting it rarely, indeed scarcely ever, for the bustle of the town.

In August, 1815, her royal highness visited Mont St. Gothard, and thence proceeded to Borromeo; and in the November following, on the 12th, she left the Villa d'Este, and slept the same night at Milan. On the 13th she arrived at Nuovi, and on the 14th at Genoa, where she embarked on board the Leviathan, on a voyage to Sicily.

The wind at first was contrary, which obliged the ship to lie at anchor, and on the following day it blew so hard, that strong fears were entertained of being driven on shore, and the ship was obliged to put to sea; in doing which, however, it several times touched the ground, and in other respects was in the most imminent danger. On the 18th they passed the island of Capri, in the Gulf of Naples, and the same night anchored in the port of Ferrajo, in the island of Elba.

Her royal highness landed on the 19th, and first visited the house, or more properly speaking, the prison of Napoleon*. On the 20th, her royal

* Our limits will not allow us to give a description of this place, but we refer the reader to the Journal of M. Demont.

highness re-imbarked, but the wind being contrary, the ship did not sail until the 22d. On the 24th they passed the island of Monte Christo, and on the 26th arrived at Palermo.

It has been alleged against her royal highness, that previously to her going on board the Leviathan, the best arrangements which suggested themselves at the time, were made for her accommodation, and a cabin adjoining that of her royal highness was fitted up for two female attendants. When, however, she came on board, directions were given to alter the arrangement, and the cabin just mentioned was appropriated to the use of Pergami. He still dined at her table, and they were accustomed to walk arm in arm upon deck, and *to manifest every sign of the warmest attachment.*

These were the words of her accusers; but can any charge be more preposterous, or so totally inconsistent with probability, that a Princess of Wales would so far lose sight of all decorum as to testify any familiarity with a favourite on the quarter-deck of a British man-of-war, to the open gaze, and jokes, and sneers, of five hundred sailors, many of whom would have related it again with all the characteristic coarseness of their nature. Such a charge carries with it its own refutation, and it only exhibits a striking proof of the extent to which the machinations of wicked and designing men can carry them, in order to

effect the ruin of the victim whom they have selected.

At Palermo, her royal highness went to court, and was received with the most favoured marks of distinction. She was accompanied by Pergami in a magnificent hussar dress; and as it was the opinion of certain persons not at all belonging to the court of Palermo, that he had no business there at all, it served them as another positive proof of the unlawful intimacy which subsisted between him and her royal highness.

On the 4th December her royal highness left Palermo, and on the following day entered the straits of Messina, and arrived at that city the same evening. Her royal highness immediately engaged a house at a short distance from it, where she remained until the 6th January, and then embarked on board the Clorinde frigate, on a voyage to the eastward. This vessel was commanded by Captain Pechell; and a singular remonstrance is said to have been made to her royal highness by the gallant officer respecting the admission of Pergami to his table. Pergami, on the previous voyage in the Clorinde, had attended her royal highness as a menial servant, and had consequently waited behind the chair of Captain Pechell, at whose table her royal highness regularly dined. Pergami was now advanced to the rank of chamberlain; but Captain Pechell considered that he should degrade himself by sitting

at the same table with a person whom he had known in his former capacity. Captain Pechell, therefore, entreated her majesty, that if she condescended to come on board his ship, she would spare him the disgrace of sitting at table with a menial servant. Her royal highness took a day or two to consider this extraordinary objection on the part of Captain Pechell; for with all due deference to the nicety of his feelings, it cannot be denominated any thing else than squeamish and fastidious. Her royal highness stated to Captain Pechell, that no such objection as he had raised, had been made by Captain Briggs of the Leviathan, who had not objected to the admission of Pergami at his table. The answer was, that there was this material difference between the situation of Captain Briggs and Captain Pechell, that the former had never known Pergami in his menial situation, but that he had actually waited behind Captain Pechell's chair. It was natural to suppose that her royal highness could not but feel indignant at the apparent authoritative manner in which Captain Pechell presumed to dictate to his future sovereign, with whom she should, or she should not associate; or that the insinuation should be thrown out that the person whom she had promoted to the rank of chamberlain, should not be deemed worthy of the society of Captain Pechell, although the Princess of Wales did not think herself degraded by ad-

mitting him into hers. She therefore determined rather than submit to what she deemed an insult, to decline Captain Pechell's table, and ordered a separate one for herself. This spirited act met with the usual construction which all her other actions have met with, for the cry was immediately raised, that the refusal of Captain Pechell's table originated solely in the desire of her royal highness to enjoy the society of Pergami alone, for which an English man-of-war cannot but be considered as one of the most convenient places possible, as privacy and retirement are so easy to be obtained.

This disagreement between her royal highness and the commander of the vessel, rendered the voyage in many respects unpleasant to the former; and she took the necessary steps immediately, to relieve her from the embarrassment in which she found herself so unfortunately involved.

The distance from Messina to Catania is about seven leagues, and the Clorinde had nearly made the port of Syracuse, when the wind suddenly chopped about, and in a short time blew so hard, that it was impossible for her royal highness to land. The situation of the vessel was truly dangerous; not a sail could be unfurled but was instantly shivered to pieces, and the ship at one time was literally driving about at the mercy of the wind and waves.

The storm lasted four days, during which the

ship was often in the most imminent danger of striking; on the 10th of January it anchored safely in the harbour of Syracuse.

Her royal highness here bade adieu to the Clorinde and Captain Pechell, and after a residence at Syracuse of about a fortnight, she proceeded to Catania, in a kind of sedan chair, with a mule before, and one behind. It is surprising, when the inventive faculty of the enemies of her royal highness is duly considered, that we have not been furnished with any particular scene which might be supposed to have taken place in the Syracusian sedan chair; it was a place, of all others, which would have attracted the public attention, by the novelty of it; and as there was no occasion in all the charges brought against her royal highness, that truth should form any part in their fabrication, the mules who had the honour of supporting her royal highness might have been brought over to give their depositions, and they would have made as good, if not a better, figure at the bar of the English House of Lords, than many bipeds who disgraced it by their appearance at it.

Her royal highness slept the first night at Albentina, and on the following day arrived at Catania. Here all the nobility tendered to her their respects, and here, in the opinion of many persons, her royal highness committed the inexcusable fault of procuring for Pergami the dignity

of a knight of Malta, and afterwards always addressed him as Chevalier. It has been stated, and officially also, that after a very short residence at Catania, her royal highness became indifferent to the society of the nobility, and gradually withdrew herself from them. To those who know anything of the society of the nobility of Catania, not the slightest wonder can be excited at her royal highness withdrawing herself from it; for to a mind like hers it must have been a veritable *tedium vitæ*. It was, however, necessary to assign some cause for the sudden change in the behaviour of her royal highness; and therefore it could be ascribed to no other than the preference which she entertained for the society of her supposed paramour. But another cause was also assigned for it, and that was the most extraordinary fondness which her royal highness had conceived for the infant child of Pergami, and the uneasiness which she felt when separated from it. This child often slept with her royal highness at Catania, and it was heard several times to call her royal highness mamma; and as it is an epithet only applied by a child to its mother, *ergo* her royal highness was the mother of it. Such was the conclusion drawn by the servants of her royal highness at Catania; it was afterwards echoed to others, and at last by the Attorney-General of England to the assembled Peers of Parliament; from thence it descended to the enlightened public of the

British empire, who with one unanimous voice declared it to be a gross—a vile, and a malicious falsehood.

The stay of her royal highness at Catania lasted from the 30th of January to the 25th of February, when she departed for Augusta. On her arrival at this place, she obtained for Pergami the title of Baron de la Francino. At this place, as well as at Catania, her royal highness sat for her picture—the name of the artist is not mentioned; but two copies were taken, one of which was presented by her to Pergami. In one instance she sat in the character of a Magdalen, in a dress in which her person, according to the report of her enemies, was very much exposed; it is, however, contrary to fact. In the other picture she was painted in the dress of a Turkish lady, and along with her was the child, Victorine, in a similar dress; Pergami was also painted in a Turkish dress—and this picture was presented to Pergami himself.

Now these circumstances are alleged against her royal highness as undeniable proofs of her adulterous intercourse with Pergami; on what the proofs can rest must be left to the sagacity of her accusers to determine—the mere gift of the picture does not determine it; for were that to be received as a general proof of an illicit connexion, it would be very difficult to say on whom the charge might not be laid; but *clericus clericum non decimat*, and to no persons may this maxim be

with greater propriety applied than to the accusers of her royal highness.

On the 26th March, a small vessel, named the Royal Charlotte, belonging to her royal highness, arrived at Augusta, and on the 1st April she embarked with her suite for Girgenti; but owing to the want of water in the harbour, it became impossible to effect a landing.

On the 3d of April her royal highness set sail on her visit to Africa; although the distance was more than 160 miles, the passage was made in a single night, the wind blowing a gale during the whole of the time.

On the 4th of April her royal highness arrived off Tunis, and feeling herself excessively unwell from the violent motion of the vessel during the gale, she resolved to brave the surf which opposed her landing, and fortunately effected her debarkation at the Golletta. This place is about fifteen miles from Tunis, and the journey may be made either by land or water.

Her royal highness was comfortably accommodated in the house of the English Consul, in which she remained two days; but her arrival was no sooner made known to the Dey, than he offered her a splendid palace which had not yet been inhabited; and which, indeed, at that time, was not entirely finished. Her royal highness, however, accepted the offer, and took possession of the palace without any delay. Nothing could be more flattering to her royal highness than the manner

in which she was received by the different authorities of the Dey. A guard of honour was placed every day at the door, which was composed of the principal officers of the Dey, and they accompanied her whithersoever she went.

On the 6th her royal highness visited the Dey at his country-house, which is situated about three miles from the city. Her suite were conveyed in five carriages, and forty officers on horseback escorted her royal highness. These officers were all dressed in a different manner; and some of them so very ridiculously, that they appeared more like some grotesque figures at a masquerade than the military officers of an African sovereign. It must, however, be granted, that every exertion was made on their part to amuse her royal highness by a sort of sham fight, which they carried on during the whole of the journey, and which had a most novel and interesting appearance.

Her royal highness arrived at the palace of the Dey amidst an immense crowd. The artillery from the different forts, keeping up a continual fire, in the roar of which the carbines and muskets of the cavalry and infantry were but faintly heard. Her royal highness was received by the two young princes, and the prime ministers of the Dey, who proceeded to conduct her into his presence. After having traversed several courts and ante-chambers, all perfumed in the African manner, the Dey was discovered seated on cushions, and surrounded by his ministers and

principal officers. He received the princess with the greatest politeness and affability; and she immediately presented her suite to him. After a short conversation which was carried on by means of an interpreter, the Dey inquired if her royal highness wished to visit the Seraglio. The princess having expressed her desire to that effect, the Dey offered her his hand. She made a sign for the female part of her suite to follow her; but the male part, notwithstanding their excessive curiosity to behold the choice collection of African beauties, were obliged to remain in an antechamber; it being death for any male person to be found in the precincts of the Seraglio.

The favourite lady of the Dey received her royal highness in a kind of round court or yard, in the midst of the apartments. She was then conducted into a most magnificent room, similar to a boudoir, and surrounded almost entirely with mirrors. In this apartment were a great number of females of all ages, most richly dressed—they were almost covered with gold, diamonds, and precious stones, from the head to the foot; and, as they wore no stockings, some of them had a chain of diamonds round the ancle. Their fingers, and even the thumb, the ends of which were painted black, were loaded with rings. The majority of these women were black, and were, of their kind, more handsome than the white, who had none or very few pretensions to beauty.

Her royal highness, the Dey, and his favourite

lady, seated themselves on superb cushions, and several black slaves brought some elegant napkins embroidered with gold. The princess and her party were then perfumed, and with such profusion, that the consequence was almost suffocation. A most superb collation was afterwards served, which, in point of profusion and delicacy in the choice of the refreshments, could not be surpassed by the most brilliant fête of the most splendid court of Europe. It must, however, be considered, that the whole had been prepared by a beautiful Italian lady, married to the head physician of the Dey, and who also performed all the necessary honours of the day. After the collation, the chief band of the court appeared, consisting of six women, the youngest of whom was sixty years of age—one of them was a cripple—another had only one eye—a third was blind, and the remainder could all of them boast of some natural imperfection; added to which, they were all of them so excessively corpulent, and of such an unwieldy make, that it appeared actually difficult for them to move. It bordered very strongly upon the ridiculous to see these superannuated beauties attended by a eunuch. They seated themselves on the ground, and began to play a kind of clattering music, which is called by some *charivari;* but it was almost sufficient to crack the tympanum of the ear; it was, however, the most charming and delightful music which is to be heard at the court of Tunis. This harmonious piece of music being

finished, one of these divinities, after a short prelude, opened an enormous mouth stretching almost to the ears, from which issued a voice so squeaking, and at the same time so hollow, that it could only be compared to that of an owl hooting on a tower at midnight. It was with great difficulty that the suite of her royal highness could restrain their laughter; and it was, perhaps, only the consciousness that they were in the presence of two personages of such illustrious rank, which enabled them to keep their risible faculties under control; and especially, as from courtesy, her royal highness applauded the sweet and harmonious voice of the beautiful nymph. The Dey himself was delighted with this proof of the complaisance of her royal highness; and he assured her that it was one of the most pleasant of his recreations in the moments of ennui and chagrin.

The two princes who had been present during the whole of this singular scene, inquired of her royal highness if it would give her any pleasure to visit their Seraglio; she assured them it would, and accordingly her royal highness and her suite were conducted to it. They found it much more numerous in women than that of the Dey, but not so rich. There were a considerable number of women of different nations, who had been seduced from their parents at an early age. These unfortunate victims having once become the tenants of a Seraglio, never leave it—they live and die in it

—a stranger seldom or never appears to gladden their eyes; and they were in consequence so delighted to behold some strange females amongst them, that every method was adopted to testify their joy. Some of the females spoke Italian, but very imperfectly—a great number of them were seated on cushions, and their make was so excessively corpulent that they could not rise without assistance. These, however, were the ladies who were the principal objects of the admiration and favour of the princes.

Prince Mustapha having entered the Seraglio unexpectedly, caused the same effect as if a wolf were to burst suddenly into a sheep-fold; the ladies were seized with a sudden trembling, and appeared to be thrown into the greatest confusion. Having, however collected themselves a little, they approached the prince, one after the other, with an air of the most humble submission, and kissed his hand, according to the Turkish method.

Another collation was prepared here, consisting of every delicacy that could be procured; after which, her royal highness and suite, were again perfumed, and so strongly, that the clothes ever after retained the odour.

The females appeared to be so delighted with the presence of her royal highness, that it was with the greatest difficulty she could effect her departure. They several times obliged her to be

re-seated, and in such a supplicating tone that she could not refuse them.

The visit of her royal highness lasted five hours, and when she departed, the women accompanied her to the door, which closed them for ever from all human society but that of their tyrant, and in the most plaintive tones, bade her adieu.

After having minutely inspected every object worthy of her notice, her royal highness took her leave of the Dey, and returned to Tunis with the same escort and the same ceremony with which she was conducted from it.

The kindness of the Dey to her royal highness was peculiarly great. She not only resided in one of his most superb palaces, but he provided her dinner every day, and also that of her whole suite. The daily expense was estimated at thirty louisdors; but it is certain, that she was in every respect treated like a queen. She never left her palace without a guard of honour, which was constantly in the house, subject to the commands of her royal highness. She made several excursions into the country, for which the Dey always provided the necessary horses and carriages; and her royal highness usually slept at one of his country houses, where every thing was found prepared for her reception, with a splendor and liberality truly princely.

Her royal highness resolved to visit Utica, celebrated as the place where Cato, the last of the

Roman republicans died, and thence proceeded to Salona, or Savenha.

Her royal highness also visited Carthage; but circumstances of a particular and very pressing nature, obliged her to take the most speedy steps for her departure from Africa.

It was the intention of her royal highness to have passed the whole of the month of April at Tunis; but the English fleet under Lord Exmouth having arrived off Tunis, without being in the least expected, his lordship requested her royal highness to embark as speedily as possible, as the Dey appeared determined to refuse to surrender up the slaves which he demanded, and he therefore feared he should be obliged to use compulsory measures.

The preparations for the departure of her royal highness were therefore made with the utmost promptitude. Several vessels were sent by the express order of Lord Exmouth, to take on board the baggage of her royal highness. All the inhabitants of Tunis were in the greatest consternation, expecting every moment that the fleet would open its fire upon the city. The precipitate departure of her royal highness appeared to verify these conjectures, which were in reality but too well founded; for only two hours were given to the Dey to accede to the proposals of Lord Exmouth. The Dey, however, could not persuade himself that the menaces of Lord Exmouth were serious, and therefore did not hurry himself in

giving his answer to the demands of his lordship; but having been informed that her royal highness was on the point of quitting the city, and that her baggage was already embarked, he became alarmed at this sudden resolution; attributing it, with justice, to the danger which threatened her.

The Dey being now aware of the predicament in which he stood, sent his prime minister to the Princess of Wales, soliciting her to obtain for him an interview with Lord Exmouth, it being his determination to restore the slaves who had been demanded of him.

Notwithstanding, however, that this arrangement was carried into effect, her royal highness persisted in her intention of quitting Tunis; it appeared that she foresaw the revolution which broke out some short time afterwards, and which might have been attended with the most serious consequences to her, had she at that time been a resident in the city.

Her royal highness embarked on the 22d March, the wind blowing a gale. She passed through the English fleet; every ship having their yards manned, and firing a royal salute of twenty-one guns, in honour of her royal highness.

Lord Exmouth sailed on the 23d, and her royal highness on the 24th, steering her course towards the shores of Greece.

On the 28th she passed the island of Pantalara, and on the 29th that of Gozo, which is contiguous

to Malta. Her royal highness entered the port, but could not disembark without first performing quarantine, as the vessel had come direct from Tunis.

On the 31st the wind became favourable, and her royal highness steered her course across the Mediterranean, to the Grecian Archipelago, and on the third day arrived off the island of Cytherea; but the coast being very rocky and dangerous, her royal highness steered for the island of Milo, which possesses the advantage of a commodious harbour. Here her royal highness remained only one day, and departed on the 5th for Athens, where she arrived on the 8th. The city being about four miles distant from the port, the English consul sent some horses to transport her royal highness and suite, and she departed at five o'clock in the afternoon. She took up her residence at the house of the French Consul, it being more commodious and better furnished than any other.

On the 9th her royal highness began her examination of the various curiosities and relics of antiquity with which that famous city is surrounded; and by a most particular favour she was allowed to witness the religious fooleries of the dervises, which are held in what was formerly known by the name of the Temple of the Four Winds. These ceremonies* are not allowed to be wit-

*See Demont's Voyage.

nessed by any person; and certainly, for the best of all reason, that they are a disgrace and a scandal upon the reason of man; and Demont says, that some parts of them are so truly frightful, that she would have fallen to the ground had she not caught hold of one of the suite who stood near her.

During the stay of her royal highness at Athens, she gave two balls to the ladies; but nothing can be conceived more dull and tiresome than the dance of the Grecian ladies. The male part of the creation are never allowed to join in the dance, which merely consists in one lady giving her hand to another, and turning her. Their music consists, without any variation, in là, là, là, là, là, là, and là, là, là, and they have withall so little grace with it, that they might be supposed to be so many puppets moved by wires.

A noble opportunity was offered to her royal highness at this place, of exhibiting the benevolent disposition of her heart, by the emancipation of three hundred debtors who were confined in prison. A great number of them were reduced almost to a skeleton, and many had died a short time previously to the arrival of her royal highness, under the most horrible torments. Her royal highness no sooner heard of the dreadful situation of these unfortunates, than she immediately paid their debts, and restored them to light and liberty; two blessings which they never would have enjoyed again but for her humanity.

On the other hand, the governor testified his humanity by receiving the money; but still he could not refrain from shewing that he would have been equally as well pleased if the unfortunates had died in the rigour of their confinement, and exposed to all the severity and cruelty of his nature.

During the stay of her royal highness at Athens, the governor paid her several visits, with a numerous retinue, and accompanied by his guard of honour, which had a most singular effect, not only from the uniform which they wore, but the arms which they carried, which consisted of large sticks taken for the most part from the hedges in the country. The governor was the only person on horseback, the use of carriages being wholly unknown throughout Greece.

Having visited every thing of an interesting nature in and about Athens, her royal highness departed on the 24th, and on the 26th she arrived at Corinth. The Dey no sooner heard of her arrival, than he sent a number of beautiful horses for herself and the whole of her suite. All the officers of the Dey, in consequence of his express orders, went in procession before the princess to the palace, where she was received with the greatest form and ceremony. As the arrival of her royal highness had been for some time looked for, apartments were prepared for her in the palace with as much convenience and comfort as could be expected amongst the Turks. On the

day after her arrival her royal highness visited the Seraglio; the number of women is not so great, but they are more beautiful, and appear to be happier, and to enjoy a greater degree of liberty than the women of the Seraglio of Tunis.

It is very difficult to obtain a view of the castle, which is situate on an eminence; and this precaution in allowing strangers to visit it, gave rise to some suspicions in the mind of her royal highness, that it contained something of a very valuable nature, which it was necessary to withhold from the public gaze. The curiosity of her royal highness was therefore doubly excited to inspect the castle, and she solicited permission accordingly. It was not refused; and after the most minute inspection, not a single object presented itself which could warrant such a rigorous precaution in allowing it to be seen. As to a military post, it was most insignificant; but it was, perhaps, a part of the policy of the Dey to exaggerate its strength, as the supposed means of overawing the revolutionary spirit of the people, which at that time was only a smothered flame, to break out hereafter with a devastating fury.

Her royal highness left Corinth on the 28th, and on the 29th she set sail; but the wind was so strong and unfavourable that the vessel was brought to an anchor off Cape Colonna. On the 1st of June the weather became more favourable, and the vessel sailed. On the 3d it arrived at the island of Tenedos. Her royal highness visited

the Plain of Troy, in which scarcely a stone is to be found to denote the former existence of a handsome and populous city. She crossed twice the river Scamander, which once flowed with the blood of the Greek and Trojan heroes; but which now flows silently in its course through groves of olive-trees, whose echoes are never disturbed by the foot of the warrior, nor the clangor of his spear and shield.

On the 5th June her royal highness passed Galipoli, at the mouth of the sea of Marmora, and on the 7th she entered the port of Constantinople. She disembarked the same day, and took up her residence at the house of the English ambassador. Her royal highness was accompanied on her entrance into Constantinople by her lady of honor, Mademoiselle Demont and her sister, in a sort of cart with two wheels, drawn by oxen, it being the best equipage which the country could afford. The remainder of the suite accompanied her royal highness on foot.

Shortly after the arrival of her royal highness, the plague broke out, which rendered it necessary for her to leave the city, and accordingly she took a country-house at Biutère, on the Bosphorus, about fifteen miles from Constantinople. Her royal highness took several aquatic excursions on the Black Sea; and on one of these occasions she breakfasted in Europe and dined in Asia.

The Grand Seignior sent several very rich presents to her royal highness, although it is by

no means agreeable to him to know of any person of illustrious rank being in his dominions; indeed the natural jealousy of the Turks, not to call it by the harsher epithet of hatred to all Christians, and especially to one of the rank of her royal highness, who might be solicitous to see more than they wished to shew, but which, at the same time, they dare not refuse, rendered a protracted stay on the part of her royal highness attended with some unpleasant consequences, and she therefore left Biutère on the 16th, and sailed on the following day. The force of the current soon carried them out of the Dardanelles, and on the 22d they passed the island of Mitelene, and on the following day landed on the island of Scio, where her royal highness visited the spot where formerly stood the school of Homer, and where also is shewn the chair of St. Peter, on which is represented a lion and a sheep. Her royal highness departed from Scio the same day, and on the 24th arrived at Escala Nuova, which is about ten miles from the ruins of Ephesus. These, her royal highness determined to visit, and she had her travelling bed set up in a vestibule which fronted a church shaded by trees. It was here that another circumstance took place respecting her royal highness and Pergami, on which a charge of an adulterous intercourse was founded; but it was so similar to all the rest in its deficiency of the most important ingredient in the fabrication of every story, namely truth, that it would be

perfectly ridiculous in this place to enlarge upon it.

Her royal highness left Escola Nuova on the 25th, and in her course passed the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, but she was afraid to land on account of the malignant fevers which are usually prevalent in the month of June, and which are caused by the continual rains.

On the 2d July her royal highness landed at St. Jean d'Acre, on the precise spot where Richard Cœur de Lion was detained a prisoner, on returning from the Crusades in the Holy Land. She visited, with her suite, the old fortress where Buonaparte was defeated by Sir Sidney Smith, and which had been lately repaired and put in a good state of defence by the English.

On the 5th she sailed for Jaffa, which is only half a day's sail; and from which place it was the intention of her royal highness to proceed by land to Jerusalem; but as her suite had not any passports, the Dey would only allow five persons to pass. This intelligence threw the whole of the party into the greatest perplexity. It would not have been an easy task to choose five persons out of twenty-six, independently of which, every one of them had a strong desire to visit Jerusalem. It was indeed the grand aim of the voyage, and the hopes of carrying it into effect had supported the whole of the suite through all their fatigues and dangers. It was, therefore, vexatious in the highest degree, to see themselves thwarted in

their expectations at the very moment when they hoped to see them realized. Her royal highness, however, being determined that her suite should not be disappointed, formed the sudden resolution of returning to St. Jean d'Acre, where she arrived on the 6th. She repaired immediately in person to the Governor, and entreated him in the most earnest manner to grant permission to the whole of her suite to travel into Palestine. He made at first a hundred objections, but which gradually and insensibly vanished when he saw some rich presents laid before him; for amongst this people avarice is such a predominant passion, that it is scarcely possible for them to resist any temptation, even if it should be accompanied with the danger of their lives; indeed, in travelling amongst the Turks, it is necessary that the purse should be full, and the hand should be continually in it; for it is only by the power of gold, or other presents, that any favour is obtained from them.

The Governor, however, did not wish it to be seen that it was his cupidity which had induced him to grant the favour of her royal highness, and he accordingly made known to her by his interpreter, that, being under considerable obligations to the English nation, and at the same time impressed with a due sense of gratitude for the services which they had rendered to the city, he was determined to run all risks in granting the request of her royal highness. In return for the presents which she made him, he presented her royal high-

ness with five linen tents, a zetique, similar to those used in Sicily, as many horses as were necessary to perform the journey, an escort of officers of the guard, several guides to conduct them on the road, and camels to carry the baggage.

It was on the 8th of July, at six o'clock in the evening, that her royal highness commenced her pilgrimage to Jerusalem—her suite appeared like a small army, as it now consisted of above two hundred persons. Owing to the excessive heat which prevails, during the day, the journey was obliged to be performed during the night. The road was found, to be almost impassable, and, in many places, so exceedingly narrow, that two persons could not ride abreast. Not a single habitation was met with on the route, and the fears of the party principally arose from the knowledge of the country through which they was passing, being infested with robbers and banditti, whose aim is rapine, and afterwards murder. It is true, that the numerous escort of her royal highness protected her, in some degree, from the attacks of these ferocious freebooters; and the Governor, fearing the power of her royal highness, on whom they bestowed the title of Queen of England, had taken several precautions, in order to prevent any insult being offered to her, fearing, and not without reason, that were any to be offered to her, they would be the first who would be punished. It is certain, that a single indi-

vidual, divested of all authority, in travelling through this country, would be exposed to the most imminent danger, and would, perhaps, never leave it alive; and, indeed, the travelling of an European through this country, is a circumstance of very rare occurrence. Many have premeditated this journey, but they have desisted from it, when the dangers of it have been exposed to them; but the Princess of Wales, whom nothing could daunt, and who seemed to court danger and difficulty for the pleasure of surmounting them, succeeded in her arduous attempt, and it places her royal highness in the rank of the most enterprising and undaunted travellers.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 9th, the party arrived at Nazareth, a very small village, the houses of which are of stone. After having taken some repose, her royal highness visited the church, which is built on the site of the house of the Holy Virgin. It presents little to attract the curiosity of the traveller, with the exception of a few fine paintings, which have been the gift of some pious individuals.

At nine in the evening, her royal highness left Nazareth, and after having travelled the whole of the night, arrived at five in the morning in a place called Aor; here the tents were pitched—the mattresses were laid on the ground, but it was found impossible to enjoy any sleep, the rays of the sun being so intensely hot, as to penetrate through the linen of the tents, notwith-

standing its extreme thickness. A number of small venomous flies were a constant source of annoyance, and their sting was so excessively keen, that the most violent inflammation immediately succeeded. In order to obviate this inconvenience, the expedient was tried of rubbing the hands and face with lemon juice, and it partly succeeded, for the insects disliking the acidity of the fruit, refrained from any further molestation. The ground was literally burning under foot, and not a single place could be found which offered the slighest degree of coolness. The plain was completely dry, covered with the most arid rocks, not a single tree, nor a single plant, to enliven the eye—and the most intolerable thirst affected the whole of the party, and not a single drop of water could be found wherewith to refresh themselves. If they were fortunate enough to discover any, it was so excessively muddy and full of little stones, that they crushed between the teeth, and rendered the rice soup, which was made of it, wholly uneatable. The wine, which was conveyed upon the camels, appeared as if it had been boiled on the fire, and rather than assuaging the thirst, it appeared to increase it; the party knew not what to take, nor what method to adopt to assuage their thirst; fortunately they found here and there a species of gourd, which was called *engaria*, the interior of which was highly coloured, and yielded a considerable quantity of juice; this constituted almost the

whole of their food, with the exception of a few cucumbers, which were very scarce, and some dates of a very insipid taste, which excited little or no gratification. At last, after having passed one of the most disagreeable and painful days of the whole journey, the caravan re-commenced its journey about six o'clock in the evening; but the roads never appeared so bad as during this night—they were excessively narrow, with steep acclivities, and in some places the declivities were so very abrupt, that many persons fell from the camels in a state of sleep; in other places the stones were so large that the horses could scarcely tread over them; and between the stones the brambles were so thick that the horses could hardly draw their feet from amongst them. The accidents, however, were trifling, and the party escaped with some slight bruises and bloody noses.

Early on the morning of the 11th, her royal highness arrived at Rama, where she was comfortably accommodated in a monastery of Capuchins.

On the morning of the 12th, the tents were again pitched in the open air, and the road now assumed a more pleasant and comfortable appearance. At three o'clock in the afternoon her royal highness set forward on her journey, and at nine she arrived at Jerusalem. On her entrance, the crowd of people was immense to obtain a view of the Princess of Wales, who was mounted on an ass; and this circumstance excited in the minds

of many persons, some sensations not very favourable to her royal highness*.

Jerusalem is, without doubt, for every true Christian, one of the most interesting cities in the world. It was the land of the Prophets, and of illustrious men—it was where the Redemption of Mankind was confirmed, and his salvation sealed with the blood of their Redeemer.

This city is indeed very different from what it formerly was; and like many other cities, it is entirely ruined. It is in the examination of these ruins that a melancholy example of the fragility of human grandeur is exhibited. Almost all the cities which antiquity boasts of, and which are recorded as the most populous and extensive, are now an undistinguishable mass of ruins, or the contemplative traveller stands upon the spot in which History tells

Of king's that sway'd,
And towers and walls that brav'd the warrior's arm;

* This circumstance furnished M. Demont with an opportunity of comparing her royal mistress with our Saviour.—She says, "If it were possible to draw any resemblance of our good Saviour, it would be in the person of our amiable princess. Like him she is charitable, mild, and full of good works, to every body. She has suffered much, and always supports her misfortunes with the utmost patience and resignation; and like him, her sufferings are unmerited."—It is at best a fulsome, not to call it an impious, comparison; and it comes with a very ill grace from one, who a short time afterwards became the Judas Iscariot of that same illustrious person; and like that arch traitor, betrayed her benefactress for the sake of filthy lucre.

and he scarcely finds a stone that is left to tell their former pride.

On her arrival at Jerusalem, her royal highness took up her residence in a monastery of Capuchins, and on the following day she commenced her visit to the various relics of holy antiquity with which the city abounds.

She first visited the church of St. Helen, who smitten with the love of crusading, followed her royal husband to the Holy Land; and who obtained a seat in the enviable rank of the saints for many exemplary acts of piety; and above all, for the erection of above five hundred churches, and as many hospitals, in the city of Jerusalem. Some of the suite of her royal highness conceived that she purchased her high distinction dearly; but they have no idea of the inestimable advantages which have resulted to St. Helen by sitting in the society of the saints, or their conceptions would have taken a wholly different turn. The church is built on Mount Calvary, and is truly magnificent.

On entering, the place is shewn where Joseph of Arimathea embalmed the body of our Saviour; and afterwards, the Holy Sepulchre, which is of an elongated form, covered with red velvet, with fringes and an embroidery of gold. There are forty-four large silver lamps, continually burning in it, and which are supported at the expense of the different courts of Europe—"

every lamp bears the name of its respective court*.

On leaving the church, the place was shewn where the angel stood, when the women came and wept, on demanding the body of Jesus; and on which occasion her royal highness and suite were allowed to touch the pillar to which our Saviour was fastened; the place being afterwards pointed out where the crown of thorns was put upon his head. These were objects carefully preserved from the view and touch of the profane; and it was only by the particular influence of her royal highness, that herself or any of her suite were allowed such a gracious privilege.

Her royal highness afterwards visited the prison in which our Saviour was confined, and thence she ascended by steps to Mount Calvary, where the place was shewn on which Jesus was nailed to the cross. She and her suite touched the hole in which the cross was fixed.

It is a fact recorded in history, that the Jews carefully concealed the cross on which our Saviour suffered. St. Helen, however, as M. Demont says, being inspired from heaven, set seriously to work to find it, and she stood a whole

* We wish M. Demont had given us the names of these forty-four European courts; it would be a curious item in the ways and means of the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, "For the support of the English lamp in the Sepulchre of Jerusalem." We are however convinced, that it would not be the only useless item in the expenditure of the country. *Fiat Lux.*

day distributing money to the workmen employed in the holy task. She was at last fortunate enough to discover three crosses, two of which were those on which the thieves were crucified by his side. It became, therefore, a matter of no small difficulty to discover the genuine one; and it was decided in the following manner:—The first cross was laid upon the grave of a man lately deceased, and no effect whatever was visible; the second cross was placed in the same manner, and the dead man still shewed no symptons of life; but as soon as the third cross was deposited on his grave, resuscitation was the immediate consequence.—Thus the cross of our Saviour was ascertained, and it was conveyed to Rome, where it now forms the most *invaluable valuable* of that enlightened church. This was the tale related to her royal highness and suite at Jerusalem; and we can only exclaim—

"Tell it not in Gath—tell it not in Askelon."

On the 14th her royal highness repaired to visit the chamber in which Jesus instituted the Holy Sacrament, and in which the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles on the day of the Pentecost. In the same house is the tomb of King David; but no bribe—no entreaty, could induce the Turks to allow her royal highness to see it.

From this house her royal highness proceeded to the house of Caiphas, at the entrance of which is the court where Peter denied Jesus thrice. Her royal highness was shewn the small room in

which our Saviour was confined, during the time that Caiphas deliberated as to the measures which he should take with him. The same stone was shewn which was rolled away by the angel from before the sepulchre; and her royal highness was allowed the privilege of touching it. This house is at present converted into a church.

Thence her royal highness proceeded to the prison of St. Peter, where the angel broke the seven gates of iron, and facilitated his liberation. On her return she visited the house of King David, and was shewn the window where David played on the harp, and in which a lamp is kept continually burning. On the same day her royal highness traversed the same track on which our Saviour walked when he carried the cross; and the very spot was pointed out where he sunk with fatigue. A short distance from this spot are the remains of the famous temple of Solomon; seven gates of which are still remaining: that by which Simeon entered with the little Jesus, is still in a good state of preservation. All the stones of this temple were cut by one instrument, sent by God expressly for that purpose. It is surprising that St. Helen, in some of her fits of inspiration, was never able to find this instrument. It would have been an excellent companion to her cross; and as it had been found by so holy a personage, the authenticity of it would never have been doubted.

The Turks have erected a splendid Mosque in the interior of the Temple, on which account a

Christian dare not enter it under pain of death. This may, perhaps, account for St. Helen not being able to discover the aforesaid instrument.

Her royal highness having carefully examined these interesting places, proceeded to the Mount of Olives, and the places were pointed out to her where our Saviour sweated drops of blood, and where he ascended to Heaven in the presence of his disciples. She then visited the tombs of Joseph and Mary, which are in tolerable preservation.

Her royal highness having now inspected every object worthy of notice, prepared for her departure from Jerusalem; previously to which, in commemoration of her visit to the Holy Land, she instituted an order of knighthood, under the style of the Order of St. Caroline; by which act she committed a very glaring offence in the eyes of certain people; in the first instance, in assuming to herself the privileges of royalty in the creation of an order of knighthood; and in the second, in having made Pergami grand-master of the order, and her protegé, William Austin, one of the knights of it. We know not that any reason can be adduced why the two personages just mentioned are not as worthy of the honour of knighthood as many who receive it from sources more legitimate. If ignoble birth be given as the reason, it would be curious to examine how far the same reason ought to have operated in the creation of many of the genuine royal knights of nine-

tenths of the orders of Europe; and if merit, or length of service, or exclusive excellence in any department of the arts and sciences, be the ground of claim to the honour of knighthood, we rather suspect that a few hundred real knights, without mentioning those of Peg Nicholson, would kick the beam if put into the scale with either Pergami or William Austin.

It was, however, not only the order of St. Caroline which her royal highness bestowed on Pergami, but she also procured for him the order of St. Sepulchre, and it was these honours so plentifully showered upon him, that gave the enemies of her royal highness such grounds of accusation against her; attributing the whole of her conduct to a licentious passion, and to a degrading affection for an individual, who but a short time before was her menial servant.* It is, indeed, a certain fact, that on leaving Jerusalem we find Pergami a knight of Malta, a knight of the St. Sepulchre, the Baron de la Francina, and grand-master of the Order of St. Caroline; and Sancho, in his far-famed island of Barrataria, had equal reason to be proud of the honours which had been conferred upon him.

On the 15th her royal highness departed for Jericho. This journey was attended with particular danger, on account of the number of robbers who infested the roads.

They Dey gave her royal highness an escort of two hundred soldiers, the chief of whom had been condemned to death but a year before, for having

Jesus, and the cave in which Jeremiah wrote his book.

On the 16th her royal highness arrived on the banks of the Jordan, and halted on the very spot where John the Baptist baptised our Saviour, and where the column of fire descended from Heaven.

Before sun-rise on the following morning, and as soon as it was possible to travel, her royal highness commenced her journey to Jericho, the distance of which was within a few miles. The route lay across a desert, on which grew only a few stunted plants and briars; and they passed the foot of a mountain, the aspect of which was terrible. It was here that Jesus fasted forty days and nights, and on the summit of which Satan tempted him, by shewing him all the kingdoms of the earth.

The party arrived safe at Jericho, formerly a mighty city, but now reduced to a mass of ruins. The tents were pitched in order to protect the travellers from the rays of the sun, which as early as six in the morning, penetrated through the linen with an almost insufferable heat. During the whole of the day it was impossible to take any repose, or to sleep. The heat was far greater than that which was felt between Jean d'Acre and Jerusalem. The whole party were tormented with an insatiable thirst, and the water which was brought to them was muddy and almost in a state of ebullition.

The stay of her royal highness at Jericho was

committing excessive ravages. At one time her royal highness was only ten miles from Alexandria, so that she may be said to have made the tour of the Mediterranean.

It was on board of this Polacca that those scenes are represented to have taken place between her royal highness and Pergami, on which the chief weight of the criminatory charges was founded. They, however, who have minutely investigated the conduct of her royal highness, and traced her through the various situations of danger and of difficulty which she encountered, and making at the same time ample allowance for those fears and alarms which are the usual inhabitants of the female breast, under circumstances of the most trying nature, must be constrained to confess, that the impropriety of conduct imputed to her royal highness, whilst on board the Polacca, is more the offspring of some inventive head, than a case of actual truth. It is very true that her royal highness, finding the heat intolerable in the cabin of the Polacca, did order a tent to be erected on the deck in order to sleep in it, and in the day time it was converted into a place for taking refreshment, or the general purposes of a sitting-room. The interior of the tent was fitted up accordingly; and as it happened that there were two sofas in it, the construction was immediately put upon this circumstance, that one sofa was the bed of her royal highness, and the other that of Pergami. It would be ridiculous to

reason. A person bearing the name of Matthew, Mark, or Peter, thinks that he offers an unpardonable indignity to those worthy saints, if he does not hold that day as a holiday which bears their sacred names. He thereby insures their grace and favour, and in return he consoles himself with the pleasing reflection, that his beatified name-sake will assist him through all the pitiful plights and predicaments in which he may be plunged through life, by the powerful machinations of the devil. Now, amongst the saints which compose, as it may be termed, the house of peers in the hierarchy above, St. Bartholomew holds no inconsiderable rank; and Bartholomew Pergami was resolved to confer all due honour upon his patron saint by a fête on board the Polacca. The Princess of Wales, who with the genuine spirit of a traveller, always assimilates her own manners to those of the people with whom she is residing, most condescendingly joined in the festivities which were held in honour of St. Bartholomew. But her enemies, who could not trace in any of her actions, the operations of a highly vigorous and masculine mind, could not see in this condescension of her royal highness, any thing less than a disgraceful attachment to the individual whose christian name was Bartholomew; for, shocking to relate, she so far overstepped the bounds of propriety and decorum, as to have her health drank by the joyous party, and in return drank the health, not of St. Bartholomew, but of Bar-

tholomew Pergami. This, indeed, was a heinous charge against her royal highness; it was a direct and positive proof of her "criminal—her licentious and disgusting intercourse with him;" but

Pudet hac opprobria vobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.

On the 27th her royal highness passed Cyprus for the second time. The vessel was becalmed off the island, at a time when the pirates were roving in all directions, who generally take advantage of the calms to attack the merchant vessels, which are usually sunk after the crew have been murdered and the cargo plundered. Her royal highness was therefore anxious to leave this dangerous coast; and as the provisions began to grow scarce, she resolved to direct her course to the island of Rhodes, which after passing Caramania, she reached the latter end of August.

The Polacca sailed from Rhodes on the 3d of September, with a light wind; but towards the evening of the same day, it chopped suddenly round, and blew a tremendous gale, which exposed the vessel to the most imminent danger, and driving it considerably to leeward. On the 4th the vessel was in sight of Candia, the ancient Crete, and the wind was so directly contrary that the vessel was four days in passing it. Her royal highness now directed the vessel to be steered towards Zante, but the wind proving contrary, the course was changed to Syracuse, where it

arrived on the 20th. This was the first christian city at which her royal highness touched on her return from Palestine; and prayers were offered up for her safe deliverance from the dangers which she had surmounted. Indeed it was not until her arrival at Syracuse, that she was fully aware of the extent of the danger to which she had exposed herself; for, shortly after her departure from Tunis, five armed corsairs escaped from the Goletta, on a system of the most determined piracy. The crews of these vessels were not ignorant of the extent of the riches which her royal highness had on board, not only in money, but in diamonds; and had one of these vessels succeeded in capturing the vessel of her royal highness, it was not her illustrious rank which would have protected her from their brutal fury. These corsairs were often seen from the deck of the Polacca, and every stratagem was used to divert their attention, or to deceive them as to the real character of the vessel. Not a light was allowed to be kept even on the binnacle; and it was only by measures of the greatest precaution, that her royal highness escaped from pillage, if not death, by these lawless pirates.

One of these vessels was taken at Scio, and two others at Jean d'Acre. When the Polacca was between Zante and Candia, one of these corsairs was seen at a short distance to windward of it, and every person on board expected the

completion of every noble enterprise. She was the first to shew by her example, all contempt of danger; and on one occasion, when one of her suite expressed his fears as to the result of a particular undertaking, her royal highness said, "why surely you will not hesitate to follow a woman!" It was however not only in the display the most heroic courage that her royal highness distinguished herself, during the whole of her journey; but her course was marked by a series of the most generous and humane actions, by which she supported not only her own dignity, but maintained the high character of the nation with which she was so intimately connected.

On the arrival of her royal highness at Syracuse, the whole party were obliged to perform the most rigid quarantine for forty days, during which time it was highly amusing to her royal highness to see the manner in which the natives avoided all intercourse with every one belonging to the vessel, running from them as if they were bears or wolves. A small house was allotted for the residence of her royal highness during the period of quarantine, and a certain boundary was fixed, beyond which she was not allowed to go. The provisions were brought to the limit of the boundary, as if deposited by some invisible hand; for as it was generally in the dead of the night that the provisions were brought, the person was never seen, nor was any communication ever held with the travellers until the forty days had expired.

On the 27th the vessel received pratique, and her royal highness resolved on her immediate departure. Information having, however, been given to her, that some Algerine vessels were cruizing off the coast of Sicily, which information was corroborated by a small vessel which took refuge in the port of Syracuse, her royal highness accepted the offer of an Austrian frigate to convoy her to her destination. The Algerines being at that period at war with this country, the capture of the Princess of Wales would have been a cause of no little triumph to the Algerines. On passing Catania, her royal highness very narrowly escaped being attacked by one of the Algerine corsairs, which, fortunately for her, at the time being in want of water, had put into Catania for a supply. Her royal highness afterwards ascertained, that the corsair would not have hesitated to attack her vessel, even protected by an Austrian frigate, as they entertain a profound contempt for the nautical skill of that nation.

On the 31st her royal highness entered the Straits of Messina, and the same evening came to an anchor in the port. It was fully expected that the vessel would be allowed pratique, but in this her royal highness was disappointed, and she was again obliged to perform quarantine.

On September 7th the vessel again put to sea, directing its course along the coast of Calabria, and on the 14th came in sight of the island of Capri, in the Gulf of Naples. Her royal highness did not

disembark at Naples, but sailed from the bay on the 13th, during a most violent storm. The wind was however fair, and on the 14th her royal highness arrived at Terracina, in the Papal States. She immediately applied to the pope for liberty to land without performing quarantine. The vessel repaired to Capo d'Anzi, to await the answer of the pope, which arrived on the morning of the 15th, and it being favourable, her royal highness immediately disembarked, having been on board from the 18th of July, without ever being on shore except during the quarantine at Syracuse.

On the 15th her royal highness arrived at Rome, where she was received with all the distinction due to her illustrious rank. She was, by order of the Roman government, attended by Italian personages of distinction to officiate in her household; she had a guard of honour attached to her, and a box at the public ceremonies, like the other royal personages then residing at Rome. Her royal highness was presented to the Pope, as well as the whole of her suite; on the latter, he conferred the enviable honour of being allowed to kiss his hand instead of his foot—the catholics, however, prefer the foot to the hand, and no doubt the honour is great, whether it be a kiss of it, or a kick from it.

It was attempted to be proved, that at this period of her royal highness's life, her society was shunned by the respectable part of the community, and particularly by the English, but it

was like many other of the assertions of her enemies, wholly groundless. During her residence at Rome, she was visited by the majority of the English travellers then residing there, amongst whom were several of the nobility; and the most noble of the Italian families vied with each other in shewing her every mark of their esteem and respect.

Her royal highness left Rome on the 17th, and halted for a short time on the following day at Viterbe; during the night she passed Sienna, where the Italian language is spoken in its greatest purity. After passing through Florence, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Plaisance, Lodi, Marignan, and Milan, her royal highness arrived on the 21st at her Villa d'Este, after a journey which, in point of danger, difficulty, and privations, may rank the foremost which was ever undertaken by a female.

During the absence of her royal highness from the Villa d'Este, some considerable alterations and additions had been made, amongst which a theatre had been fitted up, in which her royal highness often appeared on the stage in character; and as it once happened, that in one of the plays Pergami played the lover, and her royal highness the person beloved, it was immediately seized upon as a circumstance corroborative of their licentious attachment, and it was accordingly brought forward in the charges preferred against her as a positively damning proof of her criminality.

Thus were the most innocent recreations of this exiled princess converted into actions of the most degenerate turpitude; and little did she think, that in those moments of unsuspecting gaiety and hilarity, the hireling spy was prowling the secret recesses of her palace, and that the very persons on whom, in the goodness of her nature, she was conferring every favour which they demanded, were secretly weaving a mingled web of perjury and falsehood, in which they fondly hoped she would feel herself so deeply entangled, that no human aid could extricate her. Indeed, her royal highness shuddered when, on her return from her journey, she learned from the police, that she was surrounded by spies in her own house. On the arrival of Lord Stewart at Milan, he did not, according to his duty, make himself known to her royal highness, but formed a strict intimacy with the Baron d'Ompteda, a chevalier of Hanover, and formerly ambassador from Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia, to the court of Vienna. The baron carried about with him in Italy a mortal chagrin from his disgrace; led on by promises, he degraded himself to the infamous trade of a spy, and set about watching the conduct of the princess very narrowly.

This redoubtable Baron, whom an English naval officer hunted over Germany and the mountains of the Tyrol, to avenge the treachery which he had practised towards her royal highness, had most honourably employed himself during the

absence of the princess, in tampering with, and endeavouring to corrupt some of the people in her service. They, however, all rejected with horror the proposals and promises which he made them, with tenders of money, to engage them in his enterprise, which had for its object, the honour and reputation of the princess. Not one of the Italians, at this time, was sunk so low in infamy, or was so base and treacherous as to be seduced by him. Maurice Crede, a German, alone yielded to the temptation. He undertook to introduce the Baron d'Ompteda into the princess's apartment, by means of false keys, and it was by a very fortunate concurrence of circumstances that the plot was discovered. The chief instrument in discovering it was Pergami, and therefore some clue is thereby obtained to the rancour with which he was visited, and to the great endeavours which were made to establish the fact of an adulterous intercourse subsisting between him and her royal highness. The princess, however, acted a most skilful and political part; she was well aware of the confederacy against her—she knew well the members who composed it, and by whom the whole secret machinery of the plot was set in motion. It, however, had not yet openly exposed its hideous features; and for the purpose of ascertaining to what lengths her enemies would go against her, she for a time pretended ignorance of their designs; and on this account she dismissed Maurice Crede from her service, but not under

the plea of treachery towards her, but under the veil of an amorous intrigue with Annette, a German, one of her waiting women. This conduct was highly beneficial to her royal highness; for Crede, in the hope of regaining his place, revealed the whole affair. We shall transcribe the declaration which he made in writing, and which he sent in the form of a letter to Chevalier Tomassia, by whose good offices he recommended himself to be re-admitted into the princess's favour. It is an important document, as it shews the scandalous means that were resorted to, to effect for ever the ruin of this truly unfortunate princess, and to prevent her for ever after from being received into that society, of which, in the words of an enlightened orator of the British senate, she was "the grace and ornament."

The document is as follows:

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER,

I address myself to you, Sir, to obtain the greatest of favours, for which I shall be eternally grateful. I was yesterday dismissed from the service of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, for having intrigued with her waiting woman, Annette. This event, which has thrown me into the greatest consternation, has awakened in my heart a remorse which has agitated me for some time, and which I feel a necessity of imparting to you, in the hope that you may interest yourself for me, and get me to be received again into her royal highness's service.

I must then confess, that I merit my disgrace, since I suffered myself to be seduced by a certain Baron, M

d'Ompteda, to betray the best of mistresses, and the most generous of princesses.

It is about a year ago, or about a month before the departure of the princess, that this Baron was to take all possible steps, through the intervention of a certain Ambrose Cesali, who came to Como to discover the place where my mistress slept; and to endeavour to procure false keys to her apartments. I persisted for some time in refusing to have any concern in this plot; but at length, the Baron's threats, who told me I was a ruined man if I did not listen to him, together with the money which he offered me from time to time, corrupted me, and I was weak enough to accept the commission, although fully persuaded that there was no foundation whatever for the Baron's infamous suspicions.

I must say, nevertheless, with the utmost sincerity, that the guilt of my conduct went no further than answering the questions put to me by d'Ompteda in the conferences I had with him, in which he interrogated me closely upon the situation of the different apartments in the palace, as well as concerning the persons who were about the princess.

This, Sir, is my confession—in making it, my heart is eased of a weight by which it was oppressed. I address myself to a man already estimable for his virtues, and who ought to feel commiseration for human weakness; whom I therefore supplicate to obtain my pardon from the princess, and not to forsake me at the moment of my calamity.

Have pity, Sir, upon an unfortunate man, who knowing his fault, seeks to repair it by repentance; hoping then to be enabled, through your aid, to return to the path of honour. On you, Sir, I place my whole reliance.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,

MAURICE CREDE.

Como, Nov. 3, 1816.

This application was treated with that sort of contempt which it deserved; but her royal highness being now determined to exhibit openly her indignation at the steps which were pursued against her, judged it proper to inform the governor, Count Saurau, of the transactions which had taken place, and he immediately banished the Baron d'Ompteda from the states of his majesty the emperor. She also determined to make a formal representation to the Emperor of Austria, and accordingly wrote a letter to that monarch, complaining of the persons who watched her; but no answer was sent; on the contrary, the manner in which the pulse of the Austrian government beat on this occasion, was distinctly ascertained by the circumstance of Pergami's being prevented by that government from wearing the cross of Malta, to which he had no claim. In this indignity offered to the chamberlain of her royal highness, the shaft was secretly directed at herself; and in the degradation of Pergami, it was intended to lower the Princess of Wales in the opinion of the world. When, however, it is considered who was the ambassador at this time from the English government to that of Austria, all surprise naturally ceases at any indignity which might have been offered to her royal highness from the court of Vienna, as that same ambassador was one of the principal actors in the never to be forgotten infamous Milan Commission. There was, however, one person who possessed sufficient spirit to

avenge the affront offered to her royal highness by the notorious d'Ompteda, and this person was Lieutenant Hownam, who shocked at the Baron's baseness, challenged him to fight; but the Baron, who had no relish for fighting, by different pretences and delays, seemed like a coward to laugh at the challenge, fixing by turns the four quarters of the world as the place of the rencontre, but was never to be found at any of them.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into a full recital of the various attempts which were made by Lieut. Hownam to bring the Baron into the field, nor to insert the various letters which passed between the parties—the one anxious for the combat, the other flying every where but where his opponent was to be met with. The Baron has paid the debt of nature, but as long as the name of d'Ompteda is known, it will never be mentioned without the most expressive signs of scorn and contempt.

The stay of her royal highness at the Villa d'Este, was not of long duration; indeed she seemed anxious to divert her mind, and to prevent it from dwelling with too much intenseness on her unfortunate situation, by a continual change of scenery, and a more general intercourse with strangers. Her situation at the Villa d'Este was by no means agreeable to her. After the affair of d'Ompteda she knew not by whom she was surrounded, nor in whom she could place any confidence. She had good grounds for believing, and

it is stated in one of her own letters, that attempts were made to poison the victuals in the kitchen, and she determined, therefore, to leave the Villa d'Este, and set off for Lugano, with an intention of visiting some of the places in that vicinity.

It was during the stay of her royal highness at Lugano, that one of the principal schemes is represented to have taken place, on which the charge of adultery was founded; and which if it could have been proved, certainly could leave no doubt as to the truth of the accusation.

Early one morning a courier was despatched with a letter to a person at Milan, and returned with an answer late the same night, or rather early on the following morning. The courier felt it to be his duty to deliver the letter immediately to Pergami, whose office it was to receive it; and accordingly he went to that person's chamber; however, he was not there, but in a short time he saw him coming from the princess's room in his shirt and robe-de-chambre. The construction which the courier put upon this circumstance, may be easily foreseen; and Pergami is represented, under the consciousness of his own guilt, to have told the courier to hold his tongue as to what he had seen; at the same time making some excuse for the singular situation in which he was entrapped.

Such was the tale which this courier vamped up for the purpose of filling the green bag of the Milan Commission; and, as the attorney-general

very gravely said, it was sufficient to convict any woman in an ordinary case. And so it was, if there had been any truth in it; but the whole fabrication was so completely exposed, in the most hateful light, on the trial of her majesty, that it is unnecessary in this place to enlarge upon it.

Her royal highness about this time purchased an estate in the vicinity of Milan, which she subsequently presented to Pergami, as a reward for the fidelity of his services; and it was not in the least to be wondered at, that this circumstance furnished her enemies with a new instrument of accusation against her, and that which would have been denominated an act of gratitude in any other person, was adjudged in her to be a proof of a degrading and licentious attachment.

Her royal highness made this place her residence for some time, during which various entertainments were given, and one in particular, in the style of a carnival, to which persons of all distinctions were invited. It was, however, alleged against her royal highness, that persons not corresponding to her station and rank, who knew properly how to maintain their dignity, or who would feel themselves honoured by her patronage, were in the constant habit of resorting to the house of her royal highness; and the attorney-general went so far as to declare, that her house resembled more a brothel than a palace.

When we consider the weight of this charge—the person against whom it was brought—the

evidence which was adduced to support it, and the well-known character of the individuals who were smuggled over into the country to substantiate it—the spirit of the most implacable indignation rises, that the character of the English nation should have been compromised, and its hitherto unsullied reputation for honour and justice blasted in the eyes of the world, by bringing the most illustrious of its subjects to a trial founded on malignity, malice, and perjury, and in the construction of which, the real character of the individual against whom they were made was never taken into consideration. According to the mode in which her royal highness was judged of, crime, or, more properly speaking, a deviation from decorum and good manners, appears to be of a very indefinite nature. If it be alleged against her royal highness as a breach of decorum and below the dignity of her station to mingle in the amusements and the gaieties of her establishment, the same charge can be retaliated against any and every Regent, who from the sudden impulse of a frolicsome humour, might prefer to take his dinner in the kitchen rather than in his splendid dining-room. In the act itself there is neither turpitude nor moral guilt, but as no insinuation has been thrown out, that the said regent betook himself to the kitchen on account of the personal charms of either the cook or the scullion, or that he had any other aim in the act than the gratification of a sudden whim, the same

liberality and indulgence should be exercised in the decision on the motives of the Princess of Wales, in mingling in the carnival at the Barona. Her royal highness might plead in justification, the manners of the country in which she was residing; and a peer of England mingling in the motley groupe of a masquerade, with shopmen, clowns, and harlequins, might with an equal degree of justice be taxed with a gross breach of decorum and good manners, as her royal highness in joining in an Italian carnival. It becomes however a very easy task to palliate an indecorous act committed by a particular individual, whereas if the same act be committed by another, it is visited with all the indignation and censure which a fictitious veneration for virtue can pronounce.

It is, however, on the contrary, a very easy task to proclaim that the mountain is in labour, and to draw the attention of thousands to the result; but in proportion to the insignificancy of that result is the degree of contempt with which those are assailed who were so injudicious as first to raise the cry. This is particularly applicable to the charge which was made against her royal highness, respecting her conduct at the Barona; for the Carnival, which the accusers of her royal highness magnified into a magnificient feté, was found on examination, to be nothing more than an entertainment given by the household to the farmers' daughters, at which the clergyman of the parish was present, and at which it was proved

in evidence, not the slightest indecorum or impropriety was perceptible. Her royal highness came only occasionally into the dancing room, and always retired before the dances finished; and thus was an act of kindness and condescension on the part of her royal highness, converted into a charge of the most degenerate and immoral nature, and in consequence of which she was to be exhibited to this nation and the whole civilized world, as a being to be universally shunned and denounced as unworthy the countenance of her fellow creatures.

Circumstances, however, of a private nature, obliged her royal highness at this time, to visit Germany; and she intended to pass some time with her relatives, the Margravine of Baden and the Margravine of Bareuth. She accordingly set out about the month of March, 1817. At Carlsruhe, she was received with all the distinction due to her rank. A chamberlain was appointed to attend her on the occasion, and the grand chamberlain of the court received her whenever she alighted from her carriage. Her royal highness passed the greater part of her time at court, or in visiting the family of the Grand Duke. She usually dined at the court, or at the Margavine's, the Grand Duke's mother; and she generally supped at the Grand Duke's. Parties were always invited to meet her royal highness, and during the whole of her stay the most flattering distinctions were paid her

In February, 1817, her royal highness set out from Carlsruhe with the intention of visiting Vienna, and thence return through the Tyrol to Italy. In consequence of the snow, her royal highness was obliged to travel on sledges; and on her arrival at the barrier town between Austria and the Tyrol, the person at the gate would not take the word of her royal highness that she actually was the Princess of Wales; and she was obliged to send Pergami back to Inspruck for the passports. Pergami did not return until two o'clock in the morning, and during his absence she had taken up her residence at a small inn in the town of Charante. It was here that another of those circumstances is represented to have taken place, which was intended to fix for ever an indelible disgrace upon her royal highness, and which went to prove beyond a doubt, the existence of an adulterous intercourse between her royal highness and Pergami.

Upon her royal highness returning to rest at Charante, she gave instructions that one of her filles-de-chambre should sleep in the same room with her, which was accordingly done. On the arrival, however, of Pergami from Inspruck, with the passports, he is represented, *sans ceremonie*, to have made his way direct to the apartment of her royal highness, who was then supposed to be asleep; but as soon as the favoured Pergami made his appearance, she ordered her female attendant to take up her bed, and to make it in an

adjoining room, leaving her royal highness and Pergami together.

That the attorney-general of the king of England, could with a grave and unaltered countenance, lay such a statement before the assembled peers of the realm—and that he could not only state it as his positive belief that every tittle of the tale was true, but actually dilate and enlarge upon it, and draw those inferences from it which nothing but the most unbiassed evidence could warrant, is a melancholy proof of the degenerate spirit of the times, and of the slavish subserviency of particular men to the political views and prejudices of the ruling party.

It is, however, the nature of all accusatory cases, that an over anxiety to establish the guilt of the accused, generally defeats its own ends—for in attempting to prove too much it generally happens that nothing at all is proved—and this was the case with almost all the charges alleged against her royal highness; and well indeed ought her accusers to have weighed the evidence by which their charges were to be proved, before they ventured on a step, in which, if failure were the consequence, the indignation of an insulted people would follow them, and shame and ignominy be their portion. It may, indeed, be argued, that adultery is generally proved by presumptive evidence, and it was such evidence which they had to offer against her royal highness, and on which they confidently expected to convict her.

In such a case however, the character of the evidence should be taken strictly into the account, and every endeavour should be employed to sift the motives which have induced the evidence to come forward, and whether any undue influence has been used, either by bribe or by threat, or whether malice or revenge have any share in their determinations. That the evidence against her royal highness could not undergo an ordeal of this nature was evident on the very first outset of the business; and it tended in a great degree to throw those deep shades of doubt over the whole of the charges brought against her, which ultimately led to the total discomfiture of her enemies, and to one of the most signal triumphs which was ever gained over the confederated force and talent of one of the most powerful governments of the world.

On the arrival of her royal highness at *Vienna*, whither she went for the purpose of demanding satisfaction from the Austrian government for the insult which she had received in Lombardy, she found herself exposed to a treatment of which she could not possibly form any conception, and which was actually derogatory from the character of the individuals who were the principal agents in it. Immediately on her arrival in Vienna, it was notified to the Emperor by the English ambassador; who, it might be supposed, would consider himself in duty bound to pay the most respectful attention to the wife of his future sovereign, and

discarding from his view all personal disagreements which might subsist between the illustrious couple, he should have been the first to have tendered his most respectful homage to her, and to have provided that she should have been received at that court at which he represented the sovereign of his country, with all the honours due to her illustrious rank. Indeed, her royal highness had written to Lord Stewart, informing him of her intention to pass through Vienna, on her way to Italy, and of taking possession of his house during her stay in that city, as it is the custom of foreign ambassadors, to receive the princes or princesses of the nation which they represent into their house. But let us examine how Lord Stewart acted upon this occasion, and whether his conduct became an ambassador who was bound by the most solemn ties to render every possible assistance, and to shew every mark of respect to the wife of the very sovereign whom he represented; for the Prince of Wales was at this period, in consequence of the unfortunate malady of his father, to all intents and purposes, the acting sovereign of the kingdom.

It is very true, that Lord Stewart, with the gallant Baron Ompteda, and a few other worthy members of the celebrated Milan Commission, had been, and were even at this time, exceedingly busy in collecting and scraping together all that mass of dirty and disgusting matter which was destined hereafter to disgrace the table of the

British House of Peers. There was, therefore, a very strong probability existing in the mind of Lord Stewart, that the Princess of Wales was a *mulier meretrix*, and consequently, that his own morals, and his own incorruptible virtue, would be exceedingly and deplorably injured by coming in contact with her royal highness; and at the same time, consistent with the principle, that a person is known by the company he keeps, some very acute qualms might come across the delicate mind of his Lordship, that his character might receive some incurable wounds were it to be bruited in the world, that he had in any shape behaved with respect to her royal highness; or that he had adopted any measures to avenge the insult which she had received in Lombardy.

Now it was not the mere opinion of Lord Stewart which determined the actual criminality of her royal highness. His information respecting her had been gathered from traducers, slanderers, discarded servants, reputed thieves, and ladies of that description, who having no character of their own to lose, were very anxious that all those who had any to support should be brought down to their own level; and yet it was on information of this nature that Lord Stewart considered himself privileged to treat the wife of his sovereign with every kind of indignity, and actually to procure her rejection from the court at which he was the accredited ambassador. Her royal highness had been completely exonerated from the charges

which were to have been verified by the perjury of the Douglases—she had been received at the German courts, and particularly at that of Carlsruhe, with the most flattering distinctions; and it was not until her arrival at that court, at which an English ambassador resided, that she saw herself exposed to that neglect and indignity which could only be exhibited towards an individual whose guilt had been confirmed by the most unimpeachable and honourable testimony. It was acting upon the indefensible system of prejudging the guilt of an individual, previous to her trial and her condemnation by her Peers, and assuming to himself the privilege of exposing her to all the indignities consequent on convicted criminality. But the behaviour of the English ambassador appears not to have been confined within the limits of even common politeness; for he wrote a most impertinent letter to her royal highness; and rather than give her the meeting at Vienna, he left the city immediately on her arrival, and retired to his country-house; where, upon application being made, the answer was invariably given that his lordship was not at home. On the receipt of the letter of Lord Stewart, her royal highness despatched it immediately to England, and it is now in the possession of Mr. Canning*.

* We have been favoured with a sight of a copy of this letter, and we really blush for the individual who could so far have lost sight of that respect which is due from a gentleman even to

Indignant at the treatment which her roya highness received at Vienna, on account of the Austrian government being so much under the influence of the English minister, she determined to hasten her departure from it, and accordingly directed her course towards Italy.

The manner in which her royal highness was received at Trieste, may be collected from the following extract from the "Trieste Observer" of April 16, 1817.

Trieste, April 16.

The Princess of Wales, the wife of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England, in passing from the higher Germany, arrived in this city yesterday about mid-day. In the evening, our new grand theatre, where the exalted Princess went to the grand spectacle of a new opera, was, in honour of her royal highness, brilliantly illaminated.

In a subsequent number of the same paper, dated the 19th of the same month, is the following article:

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one in a station inferior to him, as to have dictated such a letter to a personage of the rank of her royal highness, and in which he presumes to take upon himself the office of a judge of her actions, and to regulate his own according to his opinion of the plus or minus of criminality with which they are accompanied. We shall, however, abstain in this place from enlarging any further upon this singular letter—it will, ere long, be submitted to the public eye; but at present it might be injurious to the cause of her royal highness to divulge certain circumstances, which, at a proper season, will burst forth to the total discomfiture of her enemies.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales left this city the 16th of this month, at five o'clock in the evening, for her delightful country residence of the lake of Como. . . . .

It was at Trieste, as well as in the majority of places at which her royal highness stopped, that some very important discoveries were made by the mountain-in-labour men, in regard to the adulterous intercourse which they were determined to establish, in despite of the most positive facts to the contrary, between her royal highness and Pergami. It is a general custom with all persons of distinction who travel in Italy, to carry with them a small travelling bed, the feet of which being placed in basins of water, prevent the ascent of the numerous vermin with which the inns of Italy abound. Now, had her royal highness taken the same precaution to protect herself from the vile and nasty vermin who surrounded her in a menial capacity, as she was to defend herself from the crawling vermin of the inns, the English House of Lords would not have been disgraced by such wretches as the Majocchi's, Sacchi's, the Rastelli's, and all those who were brought over to this country to *tell lies* of that very individual who was their friend and benefactress.

It happened during the stay of her royal highness at Trieste, that not choosing to be deprived of her sleep by reposing in an Italian bed, she preferred having her own travelling bed put up in the room; and thus, according to the discovery of the mountain-in-labour men, there were two beds in

the apartment of her royal highness. It was, certainly, an inference not difficult to deduce from the above circumstance, that as there were two beds in the room there must be two persons to sleep in the said beds; and accordingly, we find in the charges brought against her royal highness, that it was not possible to draw any other conclusions, than that the two persons who had slept in those beds, were not, and could not possibly be, any other than her royal highness and Pergami.

Without observing that this was completely begging the question, as it was by no means proved, but taken for granted, that two persons did actually sleep in the room, it becomes a matter of grave import to consider how far the character and the dignity of the nation has been consulted in occupying the highest branch of its legislature for a considerable time, and calling into action the whole extent of its legal talent in the support and investigation of a series of charges, which would be actually scouted from the bar of the Old Bailey, as being even beneath its dignity to enter into. Long—long, indeed, will it be before the English government recovers from the wound which the prosecution of the first of its subjects has inflicted! It will be carried to posterity as a beacon for the expression of all that is disgraceful, degenerate, and base.

It is, however, an unpleasant task to pursue this subject any further; but in justice to the illustrious individual who was the subject of such unme-

rited treatment, we could not permit this singular epoch in her life to pass over without a suitable comment, in order that posterity may be able to form a just and accurate estimate of the manner in which an English ambassador once presumed to treat the wife of the sovereign whom he represented, and to whom he was bound by the law of nations, as well as the rules of courtesy, to shew the most unbounded respect and homage.

Her royal highness, finding all attempts fruitless to gain any redress from the Austrian government for the insults which she had received, determined to hasten her departure, and return to the Villa d'Este. She arrived there in the month of April; but finding herself in a certain degree under the influence of the Austrian government, she came to the resolution of disposing of her Villa on the lake of Como, which, in a short time afterwards, was carried into effect.

Her royal highness had now "the world before her, where to choose her place of rest." Her mind was of too firm a texture to allow of despondency, much less of despair taking possession of it—she saw the wild and impetuous surges of oppression and persecution rolling onwards, threatening to engulf her in irretrievable ruin; but she stood firm and unshaken, opposing a dauntless front to the dangers which surrounded her; and like a solitary rock in the ocean, proudly defying all the might and power which was in such awful array against her.

From particular circumstances, on which it would not be proper to dilate in this place, her royal highness had every reason to believe that she should find an asylum from the persecution of her enemies, in the Roman States; although she had ample reason in a short time afterwards to acknowledge, that the conclusions which she had formed were not warranted by the premises from which she drew them. She, however, repaired to the Roman States, in which, for some time, she was treated with the greatest civility; and even protection was granted her against her infamous spy, Ompteda, and indeed against every one who appeared to have any sinister intention towards her. Her complaints were instantly redressed, and the offending party was either banished the States, or obliged to make the most public apology for his conduct.

In the midst, however, of the persecutions which surrounded this illustrious individual, there was one bright beam which shone upon her from a foreign land, in which she hoped to have been domiciliated for life, and in which she had left the dearest object which this world contained. It was from England that this bright beam shone forth, irradiating the gloom of her lonely hours, and opening to her in the perspective, a lovely scene of future happiness; for in that country resided one from whom she was indeed estranged by a wayward destiny, but to whom she looked at some future period for her return to the enjoyment

of those social habits, and those endearments of an affectionate intercourse, to which she had been long a stranger.

The interesting situation of the Princess Charlotte had, at this time, excited the most intense anxiety throughout the whole kingdom; for to her did the people look as the promising branch from which their future kings were to spring; and taking it in its most extended sense, she was the object on which the dearest hopes of the nation were fixed.

If, however, there be a situation in which the fond and affectionate mother feels her separation from her daughter, it is in the hour of child-birth; and acutely painful must it be to the feeling heart, to reflect on the many sleepless anxious hours which the unfortunate mother of her now sainted child must have passed, wishing that some cherub of love would waft her on its wings to where the sufferer lay; and yet, ever and anon, some baneful fiend exposing to her view the dread reality of her situation, and shewing her a tremendous gulph, which, with its wide yawning chasm, separated her from the object of her wishes for ever.

Those who know, or who can picture to themselves, the feelings of a mother as the day approaches on which a life is given, or a double life is taken, can form to themselves some idea of the painful anxiety with which her royal highness looked forward to the arrival of every messenger

who was to be the bearer of the fate of her only and ardently beloved child. It was the blessed spirit of hope which supported her in this most trying period of life; and so long as the human heart is supported with hope, it can look with fortitude and resignation upon the casual calamities of life, and penetrating the veil of futurity, can behold, through a long perspective, some flattering scenes of brighter happiness gradually disclosing themselves; and at the same time, finding in that cheering prospect an alleviation of the accumulated woes which at that moment so heavily oppress it. Take, however, that hope away, and the human heart is like the spot marked by the earthquake's ravages—where in cimmerean darkness, the fiend despair sits solitarily brooding—where consolation never treads, nor the cheering voice of religion ever heard.

In those severe and heavy griefs which lacerate the feelings, and stretch them to the intensity of agony, sympathy, in an angel's form, bends over the sufferer, and with the styptic of consolation, staunches the bleeding wound. But how wretched—how forlorn—how miserable must that being feel, when one of the heaviest calamities which can befal a human creature, suddenly overtakes her, like an overpowering and devastating torrent, carrying away the last remnant of her hopes; and she looks around and finds herself single in the world, and knows not where to look for one breast on which her agonised head can repose.

It is a spectacle of woe and desolation—of mental agony, and of human suffering. The heart of a mother, when bending over an expiring child—in that awful moment, when the dearest of human ties are about to be rent asunder, and the last faint glances of the eye tell, even in the throes of death, the existence of filial love!—even in that moment, when the earth rattles on the coffin, and the succeeding one hides for ever from the eager and anxious look, the tenement which holds the form that was beloved—even then, the mother, though her tears may fall, feels some slight assuagement of her grief in the reflection, that all that maternal affection, anxiety, or solicitude, could desire, was performed—that the last wishes were heard, and the last convulsive pressure of the hand received, which is never—never forgotten. But, when a mother in a distant land, in full expectation of the blissful tidings being received of a life preserved and a life bestowed—of a child being given, and of a mother saved—hears on a sudden the dreadful intelligence, that one short hour saw them both consigned to the tomb!—then, what words can express the mother's feelings; and especially of one whose particular situation would not admit of her being present during the most important crisis of her daughter's life, when a mother's cares and attentions were so indispensably requisite*.

* It was the particular request of the Princess Charlotte, that her mother might be present at her accouchement; but it was

Dreadful, indeed; must have been the shock! but let us hope that it came not upon her with the suddenness of an earthquake, but in the slow and gradual manner of the summer storm, in which the clouds are seen rising at a distance, and the majestic solo of the thunder is faintly heard; but the flash is not yet seen which is to destroy the oak, and with it the sapling at its root.

We will, however, for a short time, avert our view from this melancholy picture, and return more particularly to the particular situation of the Princess of Wales just previous to the dreadful calamity, which, like the mine full charged, was ready to burst upon her, and which plunged a whole nation into mourning and despair.

It has been already stated, that on disposing of her romantic Villa, on the lake of Como, her royal highness repaired to the Roman States, in which she shortly afterwards purchased Rucanelli and Villa Branti. There was one particular circumstance attending the residence of her royal highness in the Roman States, which placed her in some little embarrassment; and which, strange as it may appear, was actually seized upon by her enemies, as the ground of one of the charges against her.

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not thought proper to comply with it; but a late illustrious personage was proposed as a substitute. It would be indecorous in this place to expose the answer which was given by the Princess Charlotte to this proposal; besides, there is a Christian principle which says, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

At the time when her royal highness was surrounded by her English suite, on no occasion whatsoever did she dispense with a regular attendance of all the members of it at divine worship; and she was always the first to impress the importance of it upon the minds of those who, at any subsequent period, were admitted into the household. When, however, her English suite left her, and her establishment became composed, with the exception of one or two individuals, of Italians, who had been brought up in the Roman Faith, she was obliged to relinquish the public exercises of the Protestant Religion, and confine herself entirely to private prayer. The mind of her royal highness, however, was not one narrowed and contracted by a rooted prejudice against any particular mode of faith. She had worshipped her Creator in the Mosque of the Mussulman; in the Tabernacle of the Jew; in the gorgeous Cathedral of the Greek; in the incensed chapel of the Catholic, and in the simple Conventicle of the Lutheran. With her all places were alike, for she knew that the ear of the Almighty is as open to the prayer of the votary of Islamism as to the adherents of Christianity. But in the present enlightened and highly illuminated state of the world, at a period when men are no longer persecuted for their religious opinions, and a spirit of toleration pervades society, which is the inevitable result of a general diffusion of knowledge, it is strange, most strange, that in the general im-

provement of mankind, one instance should be found on the records of one of the most civilized and enlightened countries of the world, by which an individual is to be considered as having committed a heinous fault, and is to be accused of such before her peers, for having bent her knee in prayer in a catholic church, and in a country where there was no protestant church for her to visit. The Attorney-General, in the enumeration of his charges against her royal highness, says, "Their lordships would find, that upon her majesty's first going to Italy, she did that constantly which corresponded with her dignity as an English princess, and, let him add, a protestant princess. She either had divine service regularly performed at home, or *attended places where it was performed after the rites of the church of England.* This regulation continued until a short time after she returned to Genoa, where Pergami first entered into her service; but from that time down to her departure for England it was discontinued, and "she was seen to accompany *Pergami to a place of catholic worship,* which he himself frequented, to join in the prayers of the service, and to kneel down by his side." And the Attorney-General closes this intended censure of her royal highness, but which is in reality a high and flattering compliment, with the following climax, and which may be transmitted to posterity as one of the finest specimens of legal sophistry and strict logical deduction:

"Such was her abandonment of those religious feelings and rites, which ought to be observed by all persons under all circumstances."

We sincerely wish our limits would allow us to enter at full length into the defence of her royal highness on this, which was considered by the Attorney-General a most momentous charge; and at the very mention of which, he expected the whole bench of bishops to be seized with the St. Vitus's dance of abhorrence, and all the hairs of the assembled peers to stand erect with affright.

It really merits all the castigation which human ability can give him, and we know not why a Princess of Wales should be accused of an abandonment of her religious feelings, for kneeling in a Roman catholic church, which, by the bye, if she had not done, she would have been guilty of a manifest breach of all propriety and decorum, more than a certain English minister, who, although professing the tenets of the protestant dissenters, still hesitates not to receive the sacrament according to the form of the church of England, and to conform to all its rites, whenever by the virtue of his office he is compelled to do it, or to relinquish the said office. But we suppose the crime principally consisted in her royal highness kneeling by the side of Pergami; that, indeed, in the opinion of certain persons, was a heinous crime; but we advise her accusers in their devotional moments to cast their eyes around them, and then if the commission of crime consists as

was alleged by the Attorney-General against her royal highness, in having an adulterous paramour near her, we fear that the eye must be directed from a particular quarter, or something of a similar fact might very unopportunely and unpleasantly present itself to their notice.

We shall, however, dismiss this subject, with the pleasing reflection, that in the estimation of every liberal-minded person, her royal highness did *not* commit a fault in kneeling in a Roman catholic church, although the Attorney-General was pleased to call it "the forerunner or the accompaniment of the vicious state of her royal highness," and that a cause which requires to be supported by such weak and rotten materials, must ultimately fall, to the eternal disgrace and discomfiture of those who were the contrivers and the architects of it.

The stay of her royal highness at Rucanelli was not of long duration, as she removed to Pesaro, which may be considered as the last place of her abode in Italy. It was at this place that her royal highness received the melancholy intelligence of her daughter's death.

The following singular fact has been transmitted to us, and it might also be considered as a kind interposition of Providence to prepare the mind of her royal highness for the dreadful shock which it was doomed in a short time to encounter.

A few days previously to the arrival of the messenger conveying the melancholy tidings, her

royal highness was perusing the funeral oration, from the pen of the eloquent Bossuet, on Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I. who died at the early age of twenty-five. The following passage struck her royal highness so forcibly, that she underlined it with her pencil, and it will now be seen how applicable it is to the object whose loss we still deplore.

"Have we not lamented that the opening flower was suddenly blasted; that the picture, whose first warm touches excited such expectation, was suddenly effaced; this mournful exhibition of human vanity, this untimely death that chills the public hope? The usual march of death is by perceptible, but slow advances: in the *present instance* it was as rapid as it was alarming. Did we not behold her in the morning attired with every grace, embellished with every attraction; and in the evening, did we not behold her as a faded flower? Let us then survey her as death presents her to our view: yet even these mournful honours with which she is now encircled, will soon disappear; she will be despoiled, of this melancholy decoration, and be conveyed into the dread receptacle, the last sombrous habitation, to sleep in dust with annihilated kings!

"Let me however recall to your mind how she grew up amidst the wishes, the applause, and affection of a whole people. History, to which her attention was particularly directed, she used

to call the Counsellor of Kings*. In the historic page, the greatest monarchs assume no other rank than what they are entitled to by their virtues; degraded by the hand of death, they enter, unattended by flatterers, this severe court of justice, to receive the awful judgment of posterity."

On the decease of the Princess Charlotte, Mr. Dykes, the messenger, was instantly despatched with the disastrous intelligence, and on his arrival at her residence, she was just risen. When she was informed that a messenger had arrived, all the tender feelings of the mother were instantly called into action, and the hope that her daughter was the loving mother of a living child, was the ascendant feeling of her breast. But how dismal and gloomy was this exhilirating prospect to be changed in one short moment—from a state of the most cheering hope, she was doomed to be plunged into an abyss of the deepest despair. With a trembling hand the seal was broken, and the dreadful intelligence burst upon her, that she on whom all her hopes of future happiness were fixed, was no longer amongst the living. The view of the Princess of Wales at this moment would have melted the most obdurate heart; even her enemies, had they possessed a particle of common humanity, would, at the sight of so much affliction,

* I cannot positively determine, whether this oration of Bossuet was known to the Princess Charlotte; but it is a curious coincidence that her royal highness, once speaking of history, said, "It is by history that kings learn to govern."

have halted in their career of persecution against her; and from the love and affection which they might bear for the daughter, have held sacred the sorrows of the mother.

Her royal highness fainted on reading the fateful letter, and she only recovered for a few moments to relapse into a state of insensibility. For many days she was unconscious of surrounding objects; she appeared to live as it were in a world of her own, abstracted from all the relations of human nature, and absorbed in a deep and corroding melancholy.

The death of the Princess Charlotte, who had sacrificed—who had suffered so much in attempting to console her much calumniated mother, was one of the severest calamities which fate inflicted upon her royal highness. She had now no individual left on whom she could call for sympathy in the day of sorrow, or protection in the hour of danger. Her brother was killed at Waterloo, fighting for what he conceived the tranquillity and happiness of Europe; and the good old king who had defended her from the malice of her enemies, was in a state of mental death. Isolated from domestic affection, the princess was alone in the world, with "none to bless her—none whom she could bless." What were the flickerings of fame, or the flutterings of fashion to her now? What were the pageantry and the tinselled happiness of princes, and of potentates, who from motives of policy were seeking her destruction,

whilst they sometimes allowed her the honours due to her rank. Alas! she saw none in the crowds that surrounded her who could properly sympathise with her sufferings, or alleviate their poignancy.

Her royal highness had now fewer inducements than ever to return to England, and she continued to seek, by occasional changes from place to place on the continent, a relief from the melancholy by which she was assailed.

The remains of the Princess Charlotte had not long been consigned to the tomb, before the machinations which had been for a long time carrying on in secret against the Princess of Wales, began gradually to display themselves; and the minds of the people of this country were artfully prepared for the tragico-comico-farcico drama which was then getting up in Milan, and which was to be enacted in the British House of Peers; his majesty's ministers playing the principal characters, assisted by a number of English and Italian puppets, who danced and spoke according as the said ministers pulled the wires behind the scenes.

Some very singular rumours now began to be circulated in this country, but upon what authority we have never been able to discover, that the conduct of her royal highness was utterly at variance with that dignity and purity which were calculated to reflect honour upon herself, or upon the high rank in which she was placed.

Paragraphs also appeared in some of the public journals, stating, that a gentleman of eminence at the chancery bar, who afterwards turned out to be Mr. Cooke, had set out from this country on a most extraordinary mission; the object being to announce to her royal highness that her conduct was to be the subject of minute investigation. One of the paragraphs concluded with these words—"It must be evident, that the reports which have long been in circulation, and which recent events are said to render more striking, loudly call for inquiry."

Now, the former of the paragraphs, respecting the object of Mr. Cooke's mission, was evidently inserted with the view of misleading the minds of the English people. We have just reason for knowing, that the object of Mr. Cooke was a very different one; and that he was not authorized to make any communication whatever to her royal highness relative to the proceedings in agitation against her; on the contrary, that he was sent out as one of the famous (qu. infamous) Milan Commission, for the express purpose of catering and collecting all the disgraceful rubbish with which the memorable green bag was filled. We, however, strongly deprecate the circulation of the slanders which were thus promulgated against her royal highness upon mere idle rumours; and we again say, that the remembrance of the daughter's virtues, as well as the elevated rank which this illustrious individual sustained, ought to have secured

to the parent the same indulgence that is extended to the most humble individual—not to be declared guilty without a fair and impartial trial.

In the month of June fresh paragraphs made their appearance; and it was then announced that the chancery barrister before alluded to, had returned from the continent, and brought with him such incontestible evidence of the improper conduct of the Princess of Wales, as rendered it highly probable that the matter would be brought before Parliament for the purpose of grounding upon it some legislative measure.

It was thus that the English people were gradually prepared for the full developement of the plan which was in agitation against her royal highness, and which only required *one* event to take place to bring it into execution. This event was the death of his late majesty; and it had no sooner taken place than the mine was sprung, the materials for which had been so long in a state of preparation; and which threatened totally to overwhelm its victim in irretrievable ruin—which would have been effected but for the timely and enthusiastic opposition of a united people, whose chief characteristic is a hatred of oppression, and every thing bearing resemblance to tyranny and persecution.

Indeed the decease of Geoge III. may be oonsidered as forming one of the most important epochs in the life of her present majesty. In the eye of the law and of justice, she became immediately

invested with all the rights and privileges of Queen of this country; and residing as she was then in a foreign land, she was entitled to all the honours which the people amongst whom she lived are bound by courtesy to shew to princes and potentates; but if we survey the course of her majesty's life since her marriage, we shall find it presenting a scene varied only in its grades and circumstances of uninterrupted calamity; and instead, at the period of the death of George III., of being abated of its severity by the hand of time, the dark cloud of her fate swelled to an uncommon magnitude, and seemed pregnant with the elements of destruction, ready to burst either on her enemies or on herself. History only furnishes one case which can bear any parallel with the situation of the Queen of England, but it is a most striking one. It is the case of Octavia, the wife of Nero; almost on the day of her marriage she became the object of his disgust and aversion. She was repudiated and dismissed on a false and frivolous pretext. A mistress was received into her place, and long before she was even banished from the dwelling of her husband, a conspiracy was set on foot against her honour, to impute to her a licentious amour with a slave; and it was stated by the great historian of corrupted Rome, that on that occasion some of her servants were induced, not by bribes, but by tortures, to depose to facts injurious to her reputation; but the greater number persisted in faithfully maintaining

her innocence. She was finally banished, but her return was like a flood; the generous people seconded her with those feelings which ought to have existed in the heart of her husband. A second conspiracy was afterwards attempted—she was convicted and condemned. Not such, however, was the fate of the English Octavia; the bright luminaries of truth and justice stood forth in her defence. She came from the renewed attack on her honour and social existence, arrayed in all the purity of innocence, and the glory of triumphant virtue. A people's love was her mighty shield—and, confounded and abashed, the denizens of corruption, of falsehood, and of perjury, sunk for ever to their native infamy.

END OF VOL. I.

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